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King of Kachin riding on an elephant, attended by his Nobles

Sixteenth Century

THE
COCHIN
STATE MANUAL

BY

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Formerly, Secretary to the Diwan.*



ERNAKULAM:

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P R E F A C E .

IN preparing this Manual, I have generally followed the plan of the District Gazetteers of British India, the only points of difference being the omission of the chapters on Season and Rainfall and Local Self-government and the addition of the chapters on Religious and Charitable Institutions and General Administration. All that has to be said in regard to season and rainfall has been embodied in the chapter on Physical Description, and as municipal administration was introduced here only about this time last year, there is not much to be said as yet on the subject. As Cochin is a state and not a district, some account of the constitution of its Government was deemed to be necessary, as also the chapter on Religious and Charitable Institutions, since they form one of the administrative departments of the State.

As this Manual covers to a considerable extent the same ground as the District Manual and the District Gazetteer of Malabar, I have freely laid under contribution the information contained in those excellent works, to the authors of which my grateful acknowledgments are due. Other authorities to which reference has been made have been quoted as far as possible in the foot-notes. My grateful thanks are in a special manner due to Mr. A. Galletti, I. C. S., who was kind enough to allow me to peruse the proofs of his translation of Dutch records, and to the Rev. Father Montiero de Aguiar, Secretary to the Cochin Curia, who translated for me several interesting passages from *Lendas da India* and other works.

The Manual owes its being to the present Diwan of Cochin, Mr. A. R. Banerji, I. C. S. Not only did the idea originate with him, but the work itself was started under his orders and carried out under his supervision. Although the book is thus an official publication, I am solely responsible for the correctness of the facts and comments contained in it.

7th August, 1911.

C. A. M.

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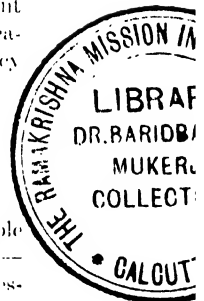
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Page 116, line 20. *for* Vinakerala Varma. *read* Rama Varma

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THE COCHIN STATE MANUAL.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION: Situation, boundaries and area—Etymology of the name—Divisions—Towns—Physical aspects—HILLS: Western Ghats—Peaks—THE RIVER SYSTEM: The Alwaye or Periyar—The Chalakudi—Tributaries of the Chalakudi—The Karuvannur—The Ponnani—The Chittur—Minor streams—THE BACK WATER SYSTEM—FRESH WATER LAKES—ISLANDS—THE COAST LINE—PORTS: Cochin—Malipuram and Narakal—Cranganur—THE NARAKAL MUD BANK: Its origin and nature—SOILS—CLIMATE: Rainfall—Humidity—Temperature—Seasons—Winds—Natural calamities, etc.—Effects of the climate—GEOLOGY: Laterite—Minerals—FLORA—FAUNA: Big game—Small game—Domestic animals—Birds—Reptiles—Fishes.

The native State of Cochin (Malayalam *Kocchi*) lies between 9° 48' and 10° 50' N. Latitude and 76° 5' and 76° 58' E. Longitude. It consists of two disconnected parts, the larger of which is bounded on the north by British Malabar, on the east by Malabar, Coimbatore and Travancore, on the south by Travancore and on the west by Malabar and the Arabian Sea. The smaller part, which covers an area of 105 square miles, comprises the chief portion of the Chittur Taluk and is entirely encircled by British territory—Malabar and Coimbatore. There are also similar isolated tracts, but of much smaller extent, which are entirely surrounded by Travancore, *viz.*, Vadavakode, Vellarapilli, Malayattur and Chennamangalam. Cochin, on the other hand, similarly encircles several isolated tracts of British and Travancore territories, and is in many places intermixed with those territories in a variety of manner. The State is thus singularly diversified in its configuration, and its boundary lines extend over a length of 500 miles. The total area of the State is 1417½ square miles. *

GENERAL
DESCRIP-
TION.

—
Situation,
boundaries
and area.

* This is the area according to the recent cadastral Survey of the State. According to the Great Trigonometrical Survey the area is 1361½ square miles.

CHAPTER I.
GENERAL
DESCRIP-
TION.

Etymology
of the name.

The State was originally known as Perumpadappu Nad, and the ruling family is still spoken of as Perumpadappu Svarupam. It is so called after the village of the same name * in the Ponnani Taluk of Malabar, which is said to have been the original seat of the family and where the coronation ceremony of the kings of Cochin used to be performed till the middle of the seventeenth century. The family was also known as Madattunkil Svarupam after the name of one of the extinct dynasties of Cochin, a name which now survives only in the language of Malayalam poets. The name Cochin appears to have been given first to the town which came into existence after the formation of the harbour in 1341, afterwards to the country in the immediate vicinity of the town, and finally to the whole territory under the rule of the Perumpadappu Svarupam. † No mention of Cochin is therefore found in the earlier notices of Malabar. Neither Pliny (A. D. 23—79) nor Ptolemy (A. D. 126—161) nor Periplus (3rd century A. D.), neither Marco Polo (A. D. 1290—93) nor Ibn Batuta (A. D. 1342—47) makes any mention of Cochin, though they give accounts, more or less detailed, of places situated to the north and south of it, such as Cape Comorin, Kallada, Cranganur, Kadalundi, etc. The first mention of Cochin, so far as known at present, is made, sixty years after the formation of the harbour, by Ma Huan, a Chinese Mahomedan attached to the suit of Cheng Ho, an envoy of the Emperor Yong-Lo to foreign countries, and the next mention is by the Italian traveller Nicolo Conti (A. D. 1440). These writers and those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries variously call the town Cocym, Cochym, Cochin, Cochi.

The word Kocchi is popularly supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *go-sri*, 'prosperous with cows'. This is clearly one of those fanciful derivations of which the Aryan colonists of Southern India have, in their anxiety to give a Sanskrit origin to all Dravidian nomenclature, accumulated such a large stock. The first portion of the name is undoubtedly the Malayalam word *Kocchu*, meaning small or young, but what this

* Nediyrippu Svarupam or the Zamorin's family is similarly named after Nediyrippu, a village in the Ernad Taluk, and Trippapil Svarupam or the Travancore ruling family after Trippapur, a village about five miles to the north of Trivandrum.

† In the treaty with the Dutch, dated 6th April 1698, there is a provision for the prevention of the smuggling of pepper from Kocchi-rajyam and Perumpadappu Nad. At this time, Cochin evidently comprised only the coast tract in the neighbourhood of the town.

word qualifies can only be conjectured. In the *Kerala Mahatmyam* and other recent Sanskrit works, the town is called *Balapuri*, small or young town, but Nicolo Conti writing in the 15th century and Fra Paolino in the 17th say that it was called Kocchi after the small river that flowed by that place, that is, the river that connects the back-water and the sea. I would therefore hazard the conjecture that the word is a contraction of *Kocchazhi*, * the small or new harbour, as distinguished from the large or old Cranganur harbour, which was frequented for centuries by merchants from all parts of the world.

CHAPTER I.
GENERAL
DESCRIP-
TION.
—

For administrative purposes, Cochin is divided into five Taluks, *viz.*, Kanayannur-Cochin, Mukundapuram, Trichur, Talapilli and Chittur. In addition to these, there is also the tiny principality of Cranganur under a Chief paying tribute to Cochin. This principality is financially autonomous, but is in all other respects administered as one of the Taluks of the State. The head quarters of the Taluks are Ernakulam, Irinjalakuda, Trichur, Vadakancheri and Chittur respectively. The five Taluks and Cranganur are further subdivided into 165 revenue villages.

Divisions.

The State was in olden times divided into *Nads* and *Dcsams* administered by hereditary Chiefs called *Naduvazhis* and *Desavazhis*. These divisions were broken up in the latter half of the 18th century, when the Chiefs were divested of their power, and the State was in 1762--3 divided into ten *Kovilakattumvatal*s or Taluks. The number was reduced to six in 1840 by the amalgamation of the Chelakara and Mullurkara Taluks with Talapilli, Enamakal with Trichur, and Kodasseri with Mukundapuram. By the amalgamation of the Taluks of Kanayannur and Cochin in 1907 a further reduction was made in their number.

The chief towns are Ernakulam, Mattancheri and Trichur. For administrative purposes, Irinjalakuda, Kunnammakulam, Chittur and Tattamangalam are also treated as towns. There are no large towns in the State, and only the first two have a population of 20,000.†

Towns.

†Ernakulam	21,901	Towns are of comparatively recent origin
Mattancheri	20,061	in Cochin as on the West Coast generally,
Trichur	15,585	and their growth is mainly due to the
Irinjalakuda	8,420	influence and example of foreign settlers.
Chittur	8,095	While the people of other parts of India
Kunnammakulam	7,194	love to congregate in closely built villages,
Tattamangalam	6,222	

* As another instance of a similar contraction may be mentioned Chetva, which was formerly known as Chettuva-azhi.

CHAPTER I. close neighbourhood is repugnant to the genius of the Malayalis, who are averse to living in houses not standing in their own premises. If a cluster of closely built houses is seen anywhere on this Coast, it can at once be understood to be the quarters of non-Malayali Hindus, native Christians or Mahomedans. But for these people, towns that can properly be called such would probably not have sprung up on this side of the ghats.

Physical
aspects.

Small as the State is, it is as singularly diversified in its physical aspects as in its configuration. It is divided into three well-defined parts or zones—the hills, the plains and the sea-board. The hilly or eastern portion, which covers nearly half the extent of the State, is broken by long spurs, extensive ravines, dense forests and tangled jungles, rising terrace by terrace to an elevation of 5,000 feet above the sea level. It is covered almost throughout with magnificent forests of teak and other valuable trees, and exhibits everywhere a splendid luxuriance of foliage and flowers. Stretching westward, in gentler slopes and gradually widening valleys, but broken here and there by isolated low hills, the plains succeed the forest-clad uplands. Intersected by numerous rivers and streams, dotted everywhere with home and farmsteads, and closely cultivated, wherever possible, these plains stretch towards the back-waters in a succession of gentle undulations. Between the back-waters and the sea is the long and narrow stretch of sandy sea-board densely covered with luxuriant cocoanut palms, and in places where there are natural or artificial embankments, large quantities of rice are grown. The sea-board is low and generally swampy, and is, in several parts, liable to be flooded during the monsoon inundations. Detached from these three zones is the isolated tract of the Chittur Taluk situated within the Palghat gap and with meteorological conditions different from those of the rest of the State. This tract is overlooked on either side by the Vadamala and Tenmala ranges, rugged and massive, with the giant Nilagiris and Anamalais towering in the back ground.

HILLS.
Western
Ghats.

That portion of the Western Ghats which forms the eastern belt of the State constitutes its chief mountain system. It is composed of a succession of bluff ridges and conical peaks and presents in general a very irregular outline. Some of these lofty ridges and peaks are almost entirely detached (except near their bases) from the neighbouring heights, falling precipitously and followed towards the west by a succession of hills of gradually diminishing altitude. The chief ranges of hills that form the chain are the Nelliampati

and Pottundi in the Chittur Taluk, the Machad in Talapilli, the Paravattani in Trichur, the Palapilli, Kodasseri and Adirapilli in Mukundapuram and the Malayattur in Kawayannur.^{*} CHAPTER I.
HILLS.

These ranges vary in height from a few hundred feet to about 5,000 feet above the sea level, and among the labyrinth of these ranges, there are some rough elevated tablelands to be found, the chief of which is the Nelliampati plateau with an average elevation of 3,000 feet. Karimalagapuram in the Nelliampati range and Vellani in the Paravattani range are less extensive plateaus, but the former has an average elevation exceeding 4,000 feet above the sea level and is therefore above the fever range. Besides these mountain ranges, there are several isolated hills of varying elevations that lie dotted here and there over the laterite plains. A few of them are well wooded, but most of them are altogether barren.

Nellikotta or Padagiri on the Nelliampaties, which is 5,200 feet high, is the loftiest peak in the State, and Karimalagapuram also has nearly the same altitude. Among the other peaks are Vellachimudi, Valiyavana Ridge, Myanmudi, Valavachan, Mulankunnu, Kuvayali and Vimpalakavala, each a little over 4,000 feet in height, and Pannimudi, Nadukani, Sherunelli, Valiyalavara, Tottivara and Kantalpara, each over 3,000 feet high. The chief peaks of Paravattani are Vellani, Tirumani and Ponmudi; of Machad, Kodikuttiyakunnu; of Kodasseri, Kodasserikoomban and Kumbitanmudi; of Palapilli, Pandimudi, Kunpauncheri and Irulumala; and of Malayattur, Kurisumudi. On the last peak is situated an important Romo-Syrian Church of some antiquity. Peaks.

Cochin has for its area an extensive river and back-water system. This has contributed in so small measure to the early development of the country, as it afforded an admirably easy and cheap means of communication at an age when wheeled traffic and even pack-bullock traffic were unknown. Owing however to the shortness of the distance between the mountains from which the rivers rise and the sea into which they fall, most of the rivers are little more than jungle streams, and the number of perennial streams, navigable throughout the year, is very limited. The chief rivers are the Alwaye, the Chalakudi, the Karuvannur, the Ponnani and the Chittur. THE RIVER
SYSTEM.

The Alwaye or Periyar, 142 miles in length and navigable for nearly 60 miles, is really a Travancore river, but where it is at its best, namely between Malayattur and Alwaye, it forms the boundary between Travancore and Cochin. The Alwaye
or Periyar.

^{*} For the division of these ranges for administrative purposes, see Chapter V.

CHAPTER I.
THE RIVER
SYSTEM.

for about 16 miles. The water of this river is believed to have medicinal virtues and to remove the ill effects of biliousness, prickly heat and boils and even to reduce elephantiasis. Consequently, Chovara, Alwaye and Thottumukham, all in the vicinity of the Railway Station, where the stream is broad, gentle and shallow, with very fine and smooth sands and with the banks dotted with neat little bangalows, are largely resorted to by people from Cochin, Ernakulam and Trippunittura during the hot months of March, April and May to enjoy bathing in the cool and limpid water of the river. These villages are in fact the sanitarium of Cochin and were used as such by the Portuguese and the Dutch during their palmy days.* At Alwaye, the river is crossed by the Cochin State Railway by means of a handsome bridge of nine 80 feet spans on piers sunk into the solid rock. Close under the bridge, the river divides itself into two branches, one flowing in a north-westerly direction into the back-water to the east of the Cranganur bar, and the other taking a southerly direction and joining the back-water near Verapoly. A branch again from the latter flows to the south and discharges itself into the back-water to the north of Trippunittura.

The Chalakudi.

The Chalakudi river rises from the ghats beyond the Kodasseri forests and flows through wild and mountainous country as far as Kanjirapilli, a distance of about fifty miles. Thence it takes a tortuous course of about twenty miles through picturesque and fertile tracts and between high banks dotted with houses and cultivated plots, and empties itself into the right arm of the Alwaye at Elantikara, about six miles to the east of Cranganur. This river is formed by the junction of the Parambikolam river with the Kuriyar or Nelliampati river near Kuriyakutti and with the Sholiar near Orukombankutti, a station on the Forest Tramway about thirty miles up Kanjirapilli. Its flow, till it reaches the plains, is broken by innumerable rapids and falls, the chief of which is the picturesque fall at Adirapilli, an almost vertical drop of over a hundred feet, a magnificent spectacle, especially in the monsoon time. The water of the Chalakudi, though good, is not so clear and light as that of Alwaye, and the river is not therefore so much resorted to as the latter in the hot season. It is navigable as far as Kanjirapilli, and near the Chalakudi Railway Station, it is crossed by a fine iron girder bridge of four 80 feet spans.

**Tributaries
of the Chalakudi.**

The Parambikolam, the Kuriyar and the Sholayar, though only tributaries of the Chalakudi, deserve separate mention

* Here, the Portuguese had a celebrated bathing place, called Fiera d' Alva,

owing to the picturesqueness of the scenery presented by them. They take their rise in the ghats beyond the Cochin frontier, and flow through primeval forests abounding in trees of gigantic growth. They are full of cataracts and waterfalls, and their banks are everywhere luxuriantly covered with foliage and flowers.

CHAPTER I.
THE RIVER
SYSTEM.

The Karuvannur river is formed by the junction of the Manali and Kurumali at Parakadavu, and discharges itself partly into the Manakodi lake and partly into the Chetva back-water. The Manali takes its source in the Paravattani hills and flows in a south-westerly direction, while the Kurumali rises in the Palappilli hills and takes a westerly direction, being joined in its course by the Muppulli and the Vembodian from the Kodasseri hills. These rivers dry up during the hot season, but they are useful for floating timber during the monsoon months, and for irrigating certain lands by means of temporary dams thrown across them. The total length of the river is nearly 40 miles, and it is navigable for about 15 miles for half the year. Both the Manali and Kurumali are crossed by iron girder railway bridges, and after their junction, the river is crossed by a masonry road bridge at Karuvannur.

The Karu-
vannur.

The Ponnani or Bharata river, the largest on the Malabar Coast, forms the boundary between Cochin and British Malabar for about 25 miles, and receives numerous streams rising from the Cochin forests. One of its chief tributaries is the Cherukuzhi or Padur river in Pazhayannur, which is the continuation of a stream coming down from the Tenmalai range through Nemmara and the Palghat Taluk and joins the Ponnani at Kuttampilli near Tiruvilvamala. The Ponnani is useful to the State as a convenient outlet for the timber extracted from the Pottundi and Machad forests. The State Railway crosses the river at Shoranur by means of iron girder bridge of fifteen 60 feet spans, which was constructed as a road bridge over forty years ago.

The Ponnani.

The Chittur is that portion of the Anamalai river that meanders through 15 miles of Cochin territory in a broad bed of rock and sand. This river and the minor streams that pass through the Chittur Taluk, namely, the Korayar, the Varattar and the Velantavalam, have a gradual fall of about 200 feet from the Pollachi frontier on the east to the Palghat frontier on the west, and this natural advantage in level has been largely availed of by the Government and the ryots for irrigation purposes by the construction of anicuts across them. All these rivers fall into the Ponnani.

The Chittur.

CHAPTER I.
THE RIVER
SYSTEM.

Minor
streams.

Besides the above, there are several minor streams which are made use of for irrigating wet lands by means of temporary dams thrown across them. The chief of them are the Vadakancheri, 27 miles long, and the Viyyur, 15 miles long, which rise respectively in the Machad and Paravattani hills, and pour their contents into the Enamakkal lake. The Peranda, the Olipara, the Ayilur and the Kudallur are small streams that drain the lower reaches of the Nelliampaties and the Pottundies and pass through the Nemmara portion of the Chittur Taluk in their course to the Ponnani river through the adjoining British territory.

THE BACK-
WATER SYS-
TEM.

One of the most striking features of the country is the continuous chain of lagoons or back-waters running parallel to the sea and receiving the drainage of the streams descending from the ghats. These back-waters, with their subsidiary canals, extend far away north as far as Ponnani and south as far as Trivandrum, and also send numerous branches towards the interior. They are very irregular in form, with a breadth which ranges from four miles to forty yards, and branch out into a number of intricate and shallow channels, containing several low alluvial islands. The back-waters are at their best both in point of breadth and in point of depth between Cranganur and the southern frontier of Cochin, while those towards the north and the branches running to the interior are generally narrow and shallow. But almost throughout their length, they are navigable for all sizes of country boats throughout the year. Communicating as they do with the sea at three points, viz., Cochin, Cranganur and Chetva, they are affected by the flood tides twice in every 24 hours, when they rise about two feet and flow at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, except during the monsoon months, when the rapidity is according to the volume of the freshes. The water is salt, but during the rainy season it is almost fresh except in the vicinity of the openings into the sea. The banks are low and generally marshy, and the bed a slimy mixture of black mud and dark sand. The shore on either side is densely covered with cocoanut and betel-nut palms or else is a succession of paddy fields.

The sea originally extended as far as the eastern shore of the present line of back-waters, and the tract of land between the latter and the sea, and the back-waters themselves came into existence in comparatively recent times by the antagonism between the rushing waters of the rivers and the littoral currents of the sea. "There being no lakes, in the still waters of which the rivers might clear themselves of the earthy matter swept along in their rapid course from the hills, they arrive at

the beach laden with sand and alluvium, and at their junction with the ocean, being met transversely by the gulf streams, the sand and soil with which they are laden, instead of being carried out to sea, are heaped up in bars along the shores, and these, being augmented by similar deposits held in suspension by the currents, soon extend to north and south, and force the rivers to flow behind them in search of a new outlet. These formations once commenced, their growth proceeds with rapidity. At the mouth of the rivers, the bars thus created generally follow the direction of the current, and the materials deposited, being dried and partially consolidated in the intervals between tides, long embankments are gradually raised, behind which the rivers flow for considerable distances before entering the sea. Occasionally, these embouchures become closed by the accumulations without, and the pent-up water assumes the appearance of a still canal, more or less broad according to the level of the beach, and extending for miles along the coast, between the mainland and the new formations. But, when swollen by the rains, if not assisted by artificial outlets to escape, they burst new openings for themselves; and not unfrequently they leave their ancient channels converting into shallow lagoons, without any visible exit.* In this manner were formed the back-waters and sea-board tracts of Cochin. The tract between the Cranganur and Chetwa bars, called *Manappuram*, was the first to come into existence, and that long before the Christian era, as Cranganur was known to the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans as an emporium of trade. The tract between Cochin and Alleppey, called *Karappuram*, was formed some centuries later, as it appears from the descriptions of Pliny and Ptolemy that it was not in existence in the first century A. D., while the island between the Cochin and Cranganur bars, called Vaipin or *Pudu Vaipu*, was formed only in the fourteenth century.†

CHAPTER I.
THE BACK-
WATER SYS-
TEM.

FRESH
WATER
LAKES.

There are several fresh water lakes in the State, of which the chief are the Enamakal and the Manakodi in the Trichur Taluk, the Muriyad in Mukundapuram, and the Kat-tukampul in Talapilli. The first two are connected with each other, and have a combined area of over 25 square miles, of which about 2½ square miles belong to the Malabar District.

* Sir James Emerson Tennent's *Sketches of the Natural History of Ceylon*.

† The names of these tracts are significant of their history. *Manappuram* means sand-bank, *Karappuram*, accreted land, and *Pudu Vaipu*, new deposit. There are villages on the eastern bank of the back-water whose names are similarly significant; e. g., *Kadamakudi* or *Kadatorakudi*, meaning sea-side settlement, and *Ezhikara* or *Azhikara*, meaning sea-shore (village).

CHAPTER I. These two lakes, which are fed by the Karuvannur, Viyyur and **FRESH** Vadakancheri rivers, channel out into the back-waters at **WATER** two points—Enamakal in the north and Chirakal in the south—**LAKES.** where bunds are put up to prevent the ingress of salt water during the hot season. At the commencement of the hot weather, these lakes are drained by means of steam pumps and Persian wheels, and the whole bed is cultivated with paddy. The Muriyad lake, which is much smaller in extent than the above, is fed by several small streams, and its surplus waters flow into the Karuvannur river during the monsoon months. It is also cultivated in the same manner as the Enamakal lake. The Kattukampal is a large irregular lake, of which only a small portion lies in Cochin territory, the rest being in the District of Malabar.

ISLANDS. The back-waters in the Kanayannur-Cochin Taluk are throughout dotted with islands, the chief of which are Mula-vukad, Kadamakudi, Cheranellur and Kumbalangi, each about four square miles in extent, Edakochi, Kumbalam, Cheppanam, Vendurutti and Chennanungalam, each about a square mile. Among the smaller islands, each less than a square mile in extent, are Vallarpadam, Cheriya-kadamakudi, Kothat, Mulampilli, Chennur, Kaudanad and Karikad. Pullut, three square miles in extent, and Panikanturut, 56 acres, form part of the Cranganur Taluk, while Arimbur, about 9 square miles, and Pullu, 1½ square miles, are picturesque islands in the Enamakal-Manakodi lake. Most of the islands in the back-waters were formed by the deposit of alluvium brought down by the rivers during the monsoons. They are generally low and swampy, and favour the luxuriant growth of cocoanut palms.

THE COAST The coast line trends from north-north-west to the south-
LINE. south-east through a length of 35 miles, of which a mile near the Cranganur bar lies in Travancore and over half a mile near the Cochin bar in British territory. The prevailing littoral current is from north to south, but is nowhere very strong, and consequently deep water is not to be found anywhere close in shore. The sea-board is an unbroken stretch of sand and is pretty open, and there is no indentation worthy of the name of harbour. But there are outlets from the back-water to the sea at Cochin and at Cranganur, which afford refuge to small crafts with shallow draughts of water by enabling them to cross the bar, especially the one at Cochin, and to load and discharge their cargo in smooth water. Vessels of modern tonnage have to lie in the open roadstead, but during the monsoon months it is unsafe for vessels to beat about on this

unsheltered coast owing to the heavy roll of the sea and the great violence of the wind. All vessels have then to take refuge in the smooth water anchorage, known as the mud bay or mud bank, at Narakal.

CHAPTER I.
THE COAST
LINE.
—

The ports of Cochin are Cochin, Malipuram, Narakal and Cranganur. Although the first of these ports lies entirely in the British District of Malabar, it is included in this list, as almost the whole sea-born trade of the State passes through this port, and its improvement and development are of more importance to Native Cochin than to British Malabar. It is the third largest trading port in Southern India, with imports and exports valued 239 and 298 lakhs of rupees respectively, and an average tonnage of eight lakhs frequenting it per annum.* The port consists of an outer roadstead and an inner harbour with a large expanse of back-water behind it. The inner harbour, which is the river connecting the sea and the back-water, and dividing Cochin from Vaipin, is half a mile long and 680 yards wide opposite the flagstaff, and has a depth of 30 to 40 feet. This depth is created and maintained only where the scour from the back-water is concentrated, but seaward of the flagstaff the outgoing current spreads laterally, the only controlling influence being the submerged sandbanks, which reach for a distance of nearly a mile from the shore. At this spot, where the outgoing currents meet the onshore seas, a bar is created in a semi-circular form from the shoal water off Vaipin point to that off Cochin point. As the bar carries only a depth of twelve to eighteen feet of water and as it extends seaward for about a mile and a half, vessels of great draught cannot cross to the inner harbour, but have to lie about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles off shore. As the removal of the bar would make Cochin one of the finest harbours in the world, proposals were made nearly thirty years ago to prevent the bar forming by the construction of groynes on either side of the entrance to the back-water, which, it was thought, would confine the current and keep open a channel by scour in the same way that the entrance to the back-water is now kept open. These proposals were however held to be impracticable, but fresh ones were made in 1902 to construct on the side of the back-water two wharves, each 1,000 feet long, for the loading and shipment of goods, and to dredge a channel, 30 feet deep below low water spring tides, from the present anchorage through the bar and up the back-water to the position adopted for the wharves. When expert opinion was taken in England on these proposals, it was found that the

PORTS.
Cochin.

* These figures are for 1908—9.

CHAPTER I. cost of constructing a sheltered harbour in this manner would
PORTS. be altogether prohibitory, and the Government of Madras were
therefore "reluctantly compelled to abandon the scheme until
time and circumstances revealed a practicable means of improv-
ing the harbour". *

Malipuram
and Narakal.

Malipuram and Narakal are open roadsteads, which are generally resorted to only during the monsoon months, when the shipping from Cochin takes refuge at the mud bank of Narakal. There is a flagstaff at Malipuram, from which light is exhibited only from the middle of May to the end of September. The usefulness and importance of these ports consist in their being necessary adjuncts to the port of Cochin. The mud bank has however recently extended seaward a little, and its value as an anchorage has been correspondingly impaired.

Cranganur.

Cranganur, the Mouziris of the ancients and described by Pliny as *Primum emporium Indiarum*, had been a very important port for over twenty centuries, but it has almost ceased to be a port now. The mouth of the river or the inner harbour is being blocked up by sand banks and alluvial islands formed by the conflict of the sea and the river, and only small boats can enter the harbour now. No vessels call at this port now to load or unload goods, except a few native crafts from Bombay with their cargo of salt consigned to Travancore. These vessels have to stand off at sea, as they cannot enter the harbour for want of water, and the salt is brought in small boats to the depot at Pallipuram. The southern bank of the mouth or inner harbour as well as a part of the northern bank is Travancore territory.

THE NARA-
KAL MUD
BANK.

There are some smooth water anchorages on the west coast known as mud banks or mud bays, the chief of which are those of Narakal and Alleppey. The bottom of these anchorages consists of the very finest mud, greenish black in colour and very mucinous to the touch, and during the monsoon this mud rises from the bottom of the sea, becomes dispersed in the water and effectually stills the surf. Ships can then ride safely in these roads, and load and discharge cargo in clear water on the open coast all through the south-west monsoon season. The mud

* Madras Government Orders, Nos. 150 and 308, dated 4th March 1902, and 13th July 1903 respectively. Several distinguished personages who have visited the harbour, Lords Curzon, Kitchener and Amphilhil among others, have been very favourably impressed by its natural advantages and have thought highly of its possibilities. In the opinion of local merchants and engineers the cost of improving the harbour will not be prohibitory, as they confidently expect a sufficiently large income to cover the interest on the required outlay, specially now that the railway has been extended to Ernakulam.

flat at Narakal extends about three miles along the shore from south to north and four and a half miles out to sea. This bank does not seem to have shifted its position at any time to any great extent, while the Alleppey bank is said to have moved about fifteen miles during the last two hundred years.

CHAPTER I.
THE NARAKAL MUD BANK.
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The nature and origin of this singular phenomenon have not yet been fully investigated. Of all the investigations hitherto made, Dr. King's seems to be the most thorough and valuable, and the following is a brief summary of the results of his investigation.* The mud of these banks is full of organic matter and contains a sensible amount of oil, some of which may have been derived from the decomposition of these organisms. In all seasons it is easily stirred up, and it never settles down into a uniformly compact deposit, but has an upper stratum in a greater state of liquidity than its lower depths. The water over the mud is known to calm down only after the south-west monsoon has commenced, and there has been a stirring up of the sea and mud. The quieting of the waters is intensified according to the amount of rainfall during the monsoon, and the calmness continues throughout the monsoon, apparently without any fresh stirring up of the mud. The water is subject at times to considerable agitation through the bursting up of great bubbles of water, mud or gas—it is not quite clear which—, when the water over the banks becomes considerably freshened, and also gives off fetid odours. At such times the fish inhabiting it are killed off in large numbers; but whether owing to the freshening of the sea-water or the exhibition of poisonous matter and vapour is not clear: perhaps, it is due to both causes. The soothing of the surf is to be attributed to the oily constitution of the mud, as experiment has confirmed the traditionally understood action of oil on troubled waters. But the amount of oil derivable from the decomposition of the animal and vegetable matter of the organisms in the mud would be hardly sufficient to account for the features exhibited; hence it is necessary to look to other sources for the oil, and even for the continued supply of the mud itself, which is entirely carried away and distributed by littoral currents. There is evidently an underground discharge of water into the sea from the back-water behind Narakal during flood time, the inland waters being at a higher level than the sea. This passage of underground water must, more particularly during heavy rains, force out large quantities of mud, while a continuous, though very small,

Its origin
and nature.

* *Considerations on the smooth water anchorages or mud banks of Narakal and Alleppey on the Travancore coast*, by W. King, B. A., D. Sc., Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India—Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XVII.

CHAPTER I.
THE NARAKAL MUD
BANK.

stream of the same oil and mud may be kept under the lower pressure of ordinary back-water level. Not only would the underlying sludge and its product be forced out, but it is conceivable that the mud from the back-water should find its way into the same vents, and for a time replace that carried off in the first instance, oil and gas being absorbed in it during that time of replacement. The presence of petroleum seems to be accountable by the fact that, besides the alluvial deposits, large lumps of clay or compacter mud and vegetable remains in a more or less decayed form are brought to the surface during the prevalence of the ebullitions. Such clays occur in the Varkala deposits associated with lignite beds, in which occur trunks and roots of trees in every stage of decay. It may well be that these Varkala deposits extend northwards under the Alleppey-Porakad and Narakal alluvium and that it is from these deposits, as being deeper seated, older and lignitiferous, that the earth-oil is generated. Thus, the banks, their smoothening influence, and their position within certain ranges of the coast may be entirely due to (1) the discharge of mud from under the lands by the percolation or underground passage of lagoon water into the sea; (2) the presence in this mud of oily matter, derived perhaps in part from the decomposition of organisms, but principally from the distillation of oil in subjacent lignitiferous deposits belonging presumably to the Varkala strata; and (3) the action of littoral currents which, slowly and through long periods of years, carry the mud down the coast to certain points whence it is dissipated seawards.

SOILS.

The prevailing soil is a red ferruginous loam. At the foot of the ghats and the isolated portion of the Chittur Taluk, this loam is derived from gniess of a micaceous or hornblendic variety which is the chief underlying rock. On the slopes of the ghats, there is in several places an overlying layer of black mould formed of decayed vegetable matter. In the middle zone, which contains the major portion of the cultivated area, the soil is lateritic, being derived from a quartzose variety of gniess. It is of course not uniform in quality, varying as it does from rich loam to uncultivable laterite. The soil of the level country near the back-water and the sea is generally arenaceous, and consists of recent deposits of sand and mud, mostly due to river alluvium. In the Chittur Taluk, a layer of black cotton or regar series of soil is found in the valleys through which the Korayar and the Varattar rivers flow. The occurrence of this soil here seems to be due to the fact that these two rivers, which have their source in the black soil region

of the Pollachy Taluk, deposit on their banks during floods the soil brought down from that region.

CHAPTER I.
SOILS.

The ryots in these parts divide the soils into three classes—*pasima*, *pasimarasi* and *rasi*—which correspond roughly to the soils of the three regions as above described. *Pasima* is a rich, tenacious soil, *pasimarasi* is the same with an admixture of sand, and *rasi* is sandy soil.

A heavy annual rainfall, a warm humidity of the atmosphere and a uniform temperature throughout the year as tested by the thermometer are the characteristic features of the climate of Cochin, as of the west coast generally. * The rainfall is not only heavy but fairly regular as to time and quantity, though not uniform in its territorial distribution. There is a gradual increase in the quantity of rainfall as we proceed from the coast towards the mountains, but Chittur, owing to its situation within the Palghat gap, is an exception, and receives much less rain than any other part of the State. While the mean annual rainfall is only 102 inches in Ernakulam, it is 132 in Trichur, and as much as over 150 on the Nelliampatis, but it drops down to 66 inches in Tattamangalam (Chittur). The abundance as well as the irregular distribution of the rainfall is caused by the Western Ghats, which arrest the lower strata of rain clouds brought up from the Indian Ocean by the periodical winds of the south-west monsoon and cause the rain to precipitate on the narrow stretch of country between them and the sea. The fall is heavier in the mountains owing to the cooling which the saturated current undergoes in its ascent, amounting to about 1° in each 400 feet, and causes the great precipitation on the face of the ghats. But the rain clouds passing through Chittur are not all arrested in this manner, as some of them escape through the gap to Coimbatore, and consequently Chittur receives less rain than the other parts of the State, and Pollachi, situated right opposite the gap, receives more rain than the tracts adjoining it on the other side of the ghats. The average number of rainy days during the year is 130 in Ernakulam, 145 in Trichur, 151 on the Nelliampatis and 100 in Tattamangalam.

CLIMATE.
Rainfall.

* No meteorological observations, except rainfall, are officially recorded in the State. The figures relating to temperature, humidity, etc., given in this section, are those pertaining to British Cochin. The statistics of temperature relating to that town were kindly furnished by the Government Meteorologist, Madras. All the other figures and some of the facts have been taken from *The Climate and Weather of India, Ceylon and Burmah* by Dr. H. F. Blandford, F. R. S., F. R. Met. S.

CHAPTER I.
CLIMATE.

The mean monthly and annual rainfall, derived from ten years' observation at three of the stations mentioned above, is

Month	Ernakulam	Trichur	Tattamangalam
January	0·4	0·4	0·4
February	0·5	0·2	0·2
March	1·6	1·0	1·1
April	5·1	4·0	3·7
May	8·0	6·5	3·3
June	26·6	33·4	12·5
July	23·4	33·7	19·1
August	12·6	21·4	11·0
September	8·5	9·7	3·9
October	10·1	14·9	7·4
November	4·0	5·4	2·1
December	1·1	1·0	1·5
Total	101·9	132·5	66·2

given in the margin. It will be seen from it that December, January and February are the driest months, during which there is hardly any rainfall, that the extreme heat of March, April and May is slightly relieved by a few occasional showers, that June and July, which are preëminently the monsoon months, account for about 50 per cent. of the annual rainfall, and that

the quantity of rain that falls in August and September, the months intervening between the two monsoons, is about equal to that falling in the north-east monsoon months, viz., October and November. This monthly distribution of rainfall is fairly uniform year after year.

Humidity.

Owing to the absence of a thick layer of cool earth on the surface, as in the temperate zone, capable of quickly absorbing the sun's rays, the surface soil becomes superheated, and by constantly radiating its heat by day and by night, maintains a comparatively high temperature. The ocean current which sweeps across from the African and Madagascar shores and the sea breeze which daily blows for several hours in the dry weather saturate the atmosphere with moisture, while the winds of the south-west monsoon roll before them dense masses of vapour. The atmosphere is thus in a more or less saturated condition throughout the year, and consequently the superfluous heat given off by the earth's surface is not radiated off into space, but is largely absorbed by the aqueous vapour by which the atmosphere is surcharged. Thus are created the heaviness of the atmosphere and the steamy heat which are so often felt on this coast. The mean humidity of the atmosphere is as much as 70 per cent. of saturation at the lowest and 88 per cent. at the highest, while the minimum and maximum in Coimbatore just on the other side of the ghats are only 52 and 75 per cent. respectively. The average cloudiness of the sky is 48 per cent. of the sky expanse.

Compensating advantages however are not wanting. The atmosphere of this coast, when it is hottest, is not so hot as that of the east coast when in the same condition, nor is the annual range of temperature, whether mean or absolute, so considerable. As the sea never becomes superheated like the land, the sea-breeze which blows regularly throughout the year moderates the intensity of the heat, while the country is shielded by the ghats from the desiccating winds of the Deccan tableland. Further, in the process of evaporation which goes on in the hours of the hottest sunshine from the sea, the rivers and the back-waters, a large amount of the heat becomes latent or insensible. On the other hand, during the monsoon months a fairly high temperature is kept up, notwithstanding the earth being screened by heavy clouds, by the condensation of the aqueous vapour and the consequent liberation of the heat. The annual mean maximum temperature, as observed from the readings of the last twenty years, is 87·4° and the mean minimum 75°, the annual mean being 81·2°. The mean highest and lowest temperature of the year being 95° and 67° respectively, the mean annual range is only 28°, but the absolute range of temperature is 37·4°, as the highest recorded reading is 98·3° (14th February 1894) and the lowest 60·9° (20th January 1902). *

The year is divisible into three seasons, the dry, the hot and the wet, and their rotation takes place with great regularity as a rule. The dry or dewy season begins with December and lasts for about two months and a half, when the mean temperature is 79° and the mean humidity is 72 per cent. The days are generally hot, but the nights, with dew fall more or less heavy, are fairly cool. The temperature is thus less uniform during this season than in the other two. In the latter half of February the mean temperature rises to about 81°, in March to 83° and in April to nearly 85°. In the first part of May, the temperature keeps up to the average of

Seasons.

* The peculiarities of climate disclosed by the above figures will be made more manifest if these figures are compared with those, say, for Madras.

British Cochin. Madras.

Annual mean temperature...	...	81·2	82
Mean highest	...	95	108
Mean lowest	...	67	60
Mean annual range of temperature	...	28	48
Highest recorded reading...	...	98·3	112·9
Lowest do	...	60·9	57·6
Absolute range of temperature	...	37·4	55·3
Mean humidity	...	80 per cent.	71 per cent.
Annual rainfall	...	115 inches	49 inches
Number of rainy days	...	16	95

CHAPTER I.
CLIMATE.

April, but in the latter part, the heat is moderated by frequent showers. With the beginning of June, the south-west monsoon breaks out and the wet season commences. The months of June and July, when the mean temperature falls to 77°, are characterised by heavily clouded skies, copious rainfall, frequent squalls and high humidity. In August and September and during the north-west monsoon months of October and November, there are frequent showers of rain, but they are neither so heavy nor so continuous as those of June and July. The average temperature of this period is the same as that of the dry season, but it is much more equable. Though the seasons rotate in the order above described, some remarkable deviations from it are sometimes observed. The highest temperature is generally recorded in April and May and the lowest in December and January, but in 1892, 1893 and 1896, the highest temperature was recorded in January, and in 1906 the lowest was in August.

Winds.

From June to November, the south-west monsoon winds of greater or less intensity prevail in the Arabian Sea, and they usually set in on this coast in the beginning of June. They have their greatest extension and also the greatest intensity in July and August. They begin to fall off in strength in September and continue to decrease in intensity in the south of the Arabian Sea in October and November, but withdraw gradually during these months from the north and centre of the sea area, being replaced by light variable winds. From December to May, the air motion consists of an alternating movement between land and sea (land and sea-breezes) and of a feeble general movement from directions between north and west. The land winds begin at sunrise and subside before noon, while the sea winds begin at noon and subside soon after sunset. But as the season advances, the increasing temperature has the effect of gradually diminishing the period of the land winds and increasing that of the sea winds by an aggregate of about five hours. This rule does not however hold good fully in regard to that part of Malabar and Cochin which faces the Palghat gap. During December and January when north-east winds obtain in the centre and south of the Bay of Bengal and the air movement is continued across the Deccan, Mysore and South Madras, the west coast in general is sheltered from these winds by the ghats, but they blow violently through the gap across the territory situated between 10° 25' and 10° 55', N. lat. These land winds blow impetuously for about two months, and sometimes almost

continuously during day and night. They are very dry winds, and though it is unpleasant to be exposed to them, they are in no way deleterious. It is believed that the strength and intensity of these winds are proportionate to the severity of the monsoon rains. *

CHAPTER I.
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Cochin has not for many years experienced natural calamities of any great magnitude. Owing to the copiousness and regularity of the rains, the State has hitherto escaped the horrors of actual famine. There is no record of any destructive earthquakes having been experienced here. The greatest shock that was felt within living memory was that of the 8th February 1900, a shock which was felt throughout Southern India. Though monsoon inundations occur frequently in the low lying tracts, destructive floods are of rare occurrence. The most important floods that occurred in recent years were those of 1882 and 1907: in the former year all the rivers in the State and in the latter the Chalakudi and the Karuvannur overflowed their banks and did considerable damage to crops and cattle, but few human lives were lost. Heavy squalls are not unfrequent during the monsoon months, but of great destructive storms there are no records. Hail storms are of very rare occurrence. Erosions of the sea-shore have occurred not unfrequently, the most serious of which in recent years was the one that took place in 1907 at Andikadavu about eight miles to the south of Cochin. In 1875 the back-waters broke through into the sea at the Cruze Milagre gap two miles south of Cochin, and it was apprehended that the breach, if left unattended to, would eventually silt up the Cochin harbour and destroy the Bolghatty island. It was filled up by the British Government with much difficulty and at much expense to which the Darbar contributed Rs. 30,000. Protective works are still maintained.

Natural calamities, etc.

The climate, though moist and often unpleasant, is not particularly unhealthy. In fact, "the large absolute amount of moisture always present in the air is almost as congenial to the health of man as it is favourable to the growth and development of vegetation". + But the excessive humidity of the atmosphere renders the climate relaxing and debilitating, especially to Europeans and people of sedentary habits. The lower hills and parts of the Chittur Taluk are feverish during the dry months, while the sea-board tracts, probably owing to the unwholesomeness of the drinking water, breed elephantiasis. As for vegetable

Effects of the climate.

* *Indian Meteorological memoirs*, Part I, Vol. X.

+ *Natural Selection and Tropical Nature* by A. R. Wallace. p. 17.

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CLIMATE.

life, "it is hardly necessary to remark that in such a climate the vegetation has all the luxuriance that is commonly associated with our ideas of the tropics. The strip of low plain that borders the greater part of the coast is covered with cocoanuts and rice fields and the villages are embowered in groves of betel-nut palms and talipots. Cassia, pepper and cardamoms flourish wild in the jungles, and form staple products for export. The fact that the pepper is cultivated without the screens used in other parts of India to preserve the humid atmosphere about it is the best proof of the dampness and equability of the climate. The low valleys are richly clothed with rice fields, and the hill sides with millet and other dry crops, whilst the gorges and slopes of the mountains are covered with dense and luxuriant forest". * But vegetation receives a severe check in the dry months, especially in the tracts over which the hot land winds blow unimpeded through the Palghat gap, when all grasses and shrubs wither away and dry, and the grounds assume a parched up appearance. The climate, particularly in the wet season, has also the effect of damaging all kinds of property that are liable to be spoilt by excessive moisture. During the monsoon months, if particular care is not taken, iron and steel get rusty, articles made of leather, woollen articles of clothing, silks, etc. get spotted or mildewed or damaged by insects, dry rot gets into wood work exposed to sun and rain, and even glazed writing paper becomes damp.

GEOLOGY.

The State has never been geologically surveyed, and it is not therefore possible to give here any detailed account of its geological formation. † Dr. W. King of the Geological Survey of India devoted a season's work in 1880—81 to a general examination of the geology of a portion of Travancore, and in his "General Sketch" he has embodied the results of his observations gathered in visits to Cochin and Malabar, which have, he says, enabled him to "generalise as to the lie and character of the very few rock formations over the country far to the northward" of the scene of his immediate explorations in Travancore. The following extracts from his sketch are therefore quoted here as the only authoritative pronouncement on the subject as yet available.

"The Travancore State, though it has long had a very irregular eastern frontier, has now been settled as lying practically to the westward of the main water-shed of the southern portion of the great mountainous

* *Climate and Weather of India, etc.*, by H. F. Blandford, p. 168.

† Since this was sent to the press, the services of a specialist have been entertained by the Darbar to conduct the geological survey of the State.

backbone or midrib of Southern India, which stretches from the low-lying gap of Palghat, below the Nilgiris, to within some fifteen miles of Cape Comorin. * * *

"In the northern part of the country the mountain mass is very broad, but just south of the Peermad parallel (the northern limit of my proper work) the hilly backbone narrows considerably and becomes a lengthened series of more or less parallel ridges with lower and lower intermediate valleys. These are striking with the gneiss, or about west-north-west and east-south-east, there being at the same time a line of higher masses and peaks culminating the main ridge, from which the ribs run away, as indicated, to the low country.

"The mountain land does not, as may be seen by any good map, run down the middle of the peninsula, but keeps to the westward; so that there is a broad stretch of low country on the Madura and Tinnevely side, while that of Travancore is narrow. Then the mountains drop rather suddenly to the east, while they send long spurs down to within a comparatively short distance of the western coast. There is thus still, in Madura and Tinnevely, a southerly prolongation of the wide plains of the Carnatic, which stretch round by Cape Comorin and join the narrower, though rather more elevated, low country of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.

"This narrower and somewhat higher land of the west coast presents also unmistakable traces of a plateau or terraced character which is best displayed about Trivandrum, and northwards past Cochin into the Malabar country. South of Trivandrum these marks gradually disappear, the last trace being in the flat upland or plateau bordering the sea-shore at Kolachel. * *

"Northwards from Trivandrum there are narrow strips of absolutely low land, that is on the sea level, marked by sandy and alluvial flats and long back-waters or lagoons. These widen out northwards from Quilon, until at Alleppey (Aulapalay) there is a width of about twelve miles of such formations, with the very extensive back-water which stretches far past Cochin.

"The rock formations are—first, and most prevalent and foundational, the gneiss series; and then on it, but only in a very small way, the *Quilon beds*, which are supposed to be of eocene age. These last are overlapped by the *Warkilli beds*, which certainly appear to belong to a different series, and are thus perhaps of upper tertiary age; they appear also to be equivalent to the Cuddalore sandstones of the Coromandel. Finally, there are the recent deposits.

"The gneisses are generally of the massive grey section of the series, that is, they are nearest to the rocks of the Nilgiris, though they differ from them in being coarse-grained or more largely crystallized, and in being generally quartzose rocks.

"So quartzose are they, that there are, locally, frequent thin beds of nearly pure quartz rock which are at times very like reefs of vein-quartz. Often these beds are strongly felspathic, the felspar occurring among the quartz in distinguishable grains, or larger crystalline masses, giving the rock rather a granitic appearance. The only other region where I know

CHAPTER I. GEOLOGY. of somewhat similar beds of quartz rock occurring with other gneisses is in the schistose region of the Nellore District. There, however, the quartz rock becomes often a fine, compact quartzite; here, in Travancore, there are no approaches to such compact forms.

“The common gneisses are felspathic quartzose varieties of white or grey colors, very largely charged with garnets. A particular form of them is an exceedingly tough, but largely crystallized, dark-grey or greenish felspathic rock.

“Massive hornblende gneisses are not common. Indeed, hornblende may be said to be a comparatively rare constituent of the Travancore gneisses.

“All the gneisses are more or less charged with titaniferous iron in minute grains; they are likewise—only more visibly—as a rule, highly garnetiferous. In fact, one might say that Travancore is essentially a country of garnetiferous gneisses. The garnets themselves are only locally obtainable, it being impossible to break them from the living rock while they are generally decomposed or weathered. They are generally of small size, but are very rich in color, the precious garnet being very common. Other minerals, such as red, blue, and yellow sapphire and jacinth, are found among the garnet sands so common on the sea-shore at certain places. The sea-sands are also full of titaniferous iron grain. * *

“The general lie of the gneisses is in two or three parallel folds striking west-north-west to east-south-east. There is, perhaps, rather a tendency of the strike more to the northward in the broad part of the hills, about Peermad, and on towards the Cochin territory. * *

“The great feature about the gneisses in Travancore, and indeed also in Cochin and Malabar, is their extraordinary tendency to weather or decompose, generally into white, yellow, or reddish felspathic clayey rocks, which, in many places and often very extensively, ultimately become what is here always called *laterite*. The evidences of these are, after all, only well seen in the field, but it may be stated here that these are seen principally in the constituent minerals, mainly the quartz, being still identifiable in much of the rock; in the lamination or foliation being also traceable; in the gradual change from the massive living rock to the soft and finally hard, scabrous, and vermicular ferruginous clayey resultant called *laterite*; and in the thin, pale, and poorly ferruginous forms exhibited by the weathering and alteration of the more felspathic and quartzose gneisses.

“This altered form of the weathered gneiss occurs over a definite area which I have laid down approximately in the map. At the same time, the change from unweathered gneiss to this belt is not sharp; for long before the eastern limit of the more generally lateritized belt is reached, approaching it from the mountain zone, the great change has begun.

“Very soon after one begins to leave the higher ribs of the mountains and to enter on the first long slopes leading down to the low country, the gneiss begins to be weathered for some depth into a clayey rock, generally of pale colors, streaked and veined with ferruginous matter, and having always an appreciable upper surface of scabrous or pisolitic brown iron clay; which is, of course, probably largely the result of ferruginous

wash, and, less so, of ferruginous infiltration. Also the ferruginous and lateritoid character is devolved to a certain extent according to the position of the gneisses; but, on the whole, there is no doubt that the upper surface generally over large areas is lateritized to a certain depth irrespective of the varying constitution of the strata. CHAPTER I.
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"Then, as the rocks are followed or crossed westward, the alteration becomes more frequent, decided and deeper seated; though still, all over the field, ridges, humps and bosses of the living rock rise up from the surrounding more or less decomposed low-lying rock areas.

"This generally irregular and fitfully altered condition of the gneisses begins at an elevation of about 400 feet above the sea, and thus it extends as a sort of fringe of varying width along the lower slopes of the mountains.

"At a yet lower level, say from two hundred to one hundred and fifty feet, and so nearer the sea coast, there is a better defined belt of more decidedly lateritized form of weathered gneiss, in which the unaltered rock occurs less frequently, and then always in more or less flatly rounded humps and masses, which never rise above a general dead level. This belt is, in fact, a country of undulating downs (where free from thick and lofty jungle), or tolerably uniform level stretches of forest land. Occasionally it also shows a plateau surface, or it is broken into small and low flat-topped hills. Always it is very deeply indented by river and stream valleys, or even by some of the back-waters which have high and steep shores.

"Further northwards the plateau character of the lateritic gneiss belt is very well developed in Malabar.

"It is remarkable of this coastal belt of country that its laterite (an altered, or ferruginously infiltrated condition of weathered or decomposed gneiss) is not to be distinguished from any other laterite, except that which is made of obviously detrital material." *

The chief building material in the State is laterite, Laterite. which occurs in all parts of it except the low, sandy plains and the isolated portion of the Chittur Taluk. As it is soft and yielding in the mass before exposure to the atmosphere, it is easily quarried; when it is exposed to the action of the weather, it hardens and becomes suitable for the construction of buildings, bridges, etc. But it is not so durable as bricks and other materials which are in use elsewhere. There are two varieties of laterite, vesicular and pellety. "The former is a ferruginous hardened clay permeated by numerous vesicular branching and anastomosing tubes half an inch or less in diameter. Where the laterite has not been exposed to the air, the tubes are filled with a whitish yellow clay containing a smaller percentage of iron and a greater percentage

* *General Sketch of the Geology of the Travancore State*—Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XV.

CHAPTER I. GEOLOGY. of potash than the walls of the tubes. The deeper one digs, and the less affected the laterite is by the weather, the fainter becomes the distinction between the walls and their contents. Finally it disappears altogether, and what is laterite above is clay below. The pellety variety is more solid, and consists of small irregular nodules of red oxide of iron cemented together by similar material. It is a more advanced stage of laterite induced by exposure to the elements, and the process of its formation may be seen going on in many places. The contents of the tubes are washed out by the rains, and the exposed parts of the vesicular laterite break up. The tube walls disintegrate into little sub-angular, irregular pieces, and washed down by rain and rivers are deposited in lower levels". *

Minerals. The mineral productions of the State are few, and are at present of no economic value. Gold is found in the sands of the river and the sea near Cranganur, and used to be laboriously sifted in the old days. This industry was at no time a very paying concern, and was given up more than a century ago. Iron used to be worked in the Talapilli and Chittur Taluks, but the influx of cheaper English material killed the native industry more than half a century ago. The ruins of several old furnaces for obtaining iron from laterite were visible in these Taluks till recently. From the account of their geological formation it is evident that iron exists in the laterite regions in large quantities, but in the absence of coal it will probably not pay to work it.

FLORA. The flora of the State are rich in variety and luxuriance, but they have not yet been systematically studied. † Some account of the timber trees and other wild flora is given in Chapter V, and the ordinary cultivated products, including trees grown primarily for fruit, in Chapter IV. Only the more important trees characteristic of the plains will be noticed here. The most numerous as well as the most noticeable tree in the sandy plains along the sea and the back-waters is the cocoanut palm (*Cocos nucifera*), but most of the trees growing in the laterite plains are also seen there, but not in abundance. In the latter, mango (*Mangifera Indica*) and jack (*Artocarpus integrifolia*)

* Malabar District Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 14.

† *Hortus Malabaricus*, compiled by a Dutch Governor of Cochin, Baron Van Rheede, and his collaborator Mattheus, a Carmelite monk, with the assistance of three native physicians, and published in twelve volumes at Amsterdam between 1686 and 1704 with nearly 800 copper plate engravings, describes most of the trees and plants on the west coast; but the list yet remains to be classified by a modern expert.

are abundant, but grafted mango trees are exotics of recent growth. The peepal tree (*Ficus religiosa*) and champaka (*Michelia champaca*) trees are generally found in the vicinity of Hindu temples, while the banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*) is largely seen planted in the avenues along with jack, mango, cashew nut (*Anacardium occidentale*), nux vomica (*Strychnos nux vomica*) and ungu (*Pogonia glabra*), the gold mohur (*Poinciana regia*), and neem (*Melia azadirachta*). Among other trees growing in the plains are the silk-cotton (*Eriodendron anfractuosum*), the portia (*Thespesia populnea*), the casuarina (*Casuarina equisetifolia*), the tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*), the drumstick (*Moringa pterygosperma*), the bread fruit (*Artocarpus incisifolia*), the nutmeg (*Myristica fragrans*), the Malay apple (*Eugenia malaccensis*), the rose apple (*Eugenia jambos*), and the bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea*). The chief palms to be found, besides the coconut, are the areca or betel-nut palm (*Areca catechu*), which is grown in all parts of the State, the bastard sago (*Caryota urens*), the talipot (*Corypha umbraculifera*), which is grown only in the northern Taluks, and the palmyra palm (*Borassus flabellifer*) grown mainly in east Talapilli and Chittur. The plantain is grown in almost all the compounds attached to dwelling houses, while the banana, which requires to be heavily watered and manured, is grown in patches by the side of paddy fields and on river banks. In the gardens are also grown in large quantities cucumbers, pumpkins, caladiums, yams, and other vegetables and edible roots.

The forests of Cochin contain all the larger animals of Southern India, but the advance of cultivation, the exploitation of the forests and the enterprise of *shikaris* have during the past fifty years not only considerably reduced their number, but have also driven them to the sholas of the higher ranges. Elephants and bison still roam in herds in the interior parts of all the forests to the south of the Trichur-Vaniyampara road, and the latter in the less frequented parts of Paravattani and Machad as well. The capture of elephants in pits every year accounts to some extent for their decimation, while of all big game the bison has suffered most by over-shooting. Tigers and bears are found in most places, but are seldom bagged by the sportsman. Cheetahs and leopards generally lurk in the confines of the forests, prowl into the neighbouring farmsteads at night and prey upon the ryots' cattle. The ibex or Nilgiri goat is occasionally seen in the higher ranges, while the true hunting leopard and wolf are said to be found in some of the jungles.

Small game is still abundant in all the forests notwithstanding the havoc committed by native *shikaris*. The sambur, the

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FAUNA.

spotted deer and the antelope do considerable damage to the cultivator by feeding upon his crops, but the wild pigs are his worst enemies. They haunt the confines of the jungles and do untold mischief not only in the paddy fields but also in the gardens where edible roots are grown. In the work of destroying roots in gardens, porcupines also play a conspicuous part. Jungle squirrels and monkeys of different kinds abound in every jungle, while wild dogs are met with occasionally in some parts.

**Domestic
animals.**

The indigenous breed of cattle is weak and stunted in growth, and has of late been steadily deteriorating. The cows are bad milkers and the bulls too weak for heavy draught. The ryots have absolutely no idea of selection in breeding, and bestow little care on feeding cattle. Fodder crops are nowhere raised, and the cattle are fed during the hot weather almost entirely on paddy straw. These circumstances, together with the damp climate and heavy rainfall, make for their deterioration. Good draught bullocks found in the State are imported from Coimbatore and Mysore, and milch cows are occasionally imported from Coimbatore and Nellore. All the heavy work in the field is now done by buffaloes, the climate of this coast being not unsuited to them, and they also supply the major portion of the milk consumed in the northern half of the State. Sheep of the Semmeri breed are imported from Coimbatore, but their rearing is almost confined to the Chittur Taluk. A fairly good variety of goats is bred in most parts, chiefly by Muhammadians. Some of them are good milkers, and their milk is much in demand for the use of children and invalids. Pigs are reared in large numbers in Kunnamkulam and other Christian centres.

Birds.

Game birds and birds of brilliant plumage are abundant throughout the State. Swamps and paddy flats teem with snipe, and avenue and other trees in rural parts with grey pigeons and to a less extent, with green ones, while imperial pigeons are found chiefly in the forests. The common pigeons or blue rocks are plentiful in temples and mosques and in the dwellings of the richer classes. Teal, duck and curlew are found generally along the back-waters, and quail, jungle fowl and peafowl in the jungles. Among the gorgeously clad birds are the peacock (very rare in Cochin), different species of parrot, the sun bird, the mango bird, the common and white-breasted kingfisher, the magpie-robin, the crimson-breasted barbet and the yellow-browed bulbul. The brahminy and the common kite, the crested hawk eagle, the shikra and the little spotted owlets are the chief birds of prey, the last appearing only at night. The crow is the most ubiquitous of our birds, while the myna,

a splendid mimic, is a rarer bird. Other noticeable birds are the fish eagle, the woodpecker, the shrike, the hornbill, the spoonbill, the fly-catcher, the Malabar blue thrush, the water-cock, and the lapwing. Gorgeous butterflies of endless varieties are to be met with everywhere, more especially in swamps and jungles.

Snakes are very common, except in the sandy tracts along the sea and the back-water, where they are scarce. About sixty species are represented here, but of those found in the low country, only three are said to be really poisonous, namely, the cobra (*Naia tripudians*), whose hood proclaims its deadly quality, the Russel's viper (*Vipera russellii*), whose body is thick and head broad, covered with little scales and a chain pattern down the centre of its back, and the krait (*Bungarus ceruleus*), bluish black above, with narrow transverse white streaks or spots. On the hills and at their foot are found a few more poisonous varieties, of which the chief is the hamadryad (*Naia bungarus*), which is hooded like the cobra. The back-waters, rivers and lakes are infested with crocodiles, some of which attain to large size, while smaller ones are found in most of the tanks and reservoirs constructed for the purpose of bathing and irrigation. Several species of turtles, frogs and lizards are also to be found in large numbers.

Reptiles,

The Cochin waters abound in fish of various kinds. The sea along the entire coast furnishes a fertile field for exploitation, the sardine being the fish that gives plenty to the local fishermen. The mackerel during the shoaling season is baled out in thousands, and in its wake follow the shark, the ray and the scienins. The mullet Nair-fish, the seir fish and the argus are also found and caught in large numbers. Among other fishes that find favour with the people are the pomflet, the sole and the whiting. The back-waters team with fish life, the most economic of them being the prawn, which is held in high esteem both in local and in foreign markets, especially the Burmese. Thousands of tons of prawns are exported annually. The back-waters abound in oysters, and excellent oyster beds are scattered over the place. The fresh water lakes, rivers and reservoirs are well stocked with many kinds of beautifully coloured fishes, the murrel and the Carnatic carp being the most abundant. The mahseer are found in the higher reaches of the rivers and ophiocephalids in every tank.

Fish.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL HISTORY.

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 with Travancore—Raja Sir Vira Kerala Varma—Diwans Tiruvengkatachariar and
 Subrahmanya Pillai—Raja Sir Rama Varma—Recent progress.

THE history of Kerala, of which Cochin is a portion, is in-
 volved in obscurity till the advent of the Portuguese at the
 close of the fifteenth century. A few references in ancient
 Tamil works and in the works of European and Muhammadan
 travellers, and a few inscriptions and copper-plate grants which
 are still preserved, afford occasional glimpses into the state
 of the country at long and irregular intervals. But these flot-
 sams of the wreckage of centuries are far from being sufficient
 to afford any clear idea of the successive stages of the social and
 political evolution of the country, much less to construct a
 connected narrative of its history. The only local works which
 pretend to be historical are the *Keralotpatti* in Malayalam and
 the *Keralamahatmyam* in Sanskrit, works of unknown authorship,
 which were probably composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth
 centuries respectively and which contain whatever of tradition
 is known in the country. But they are so full of inconsistencies,
 anachronisms and improbabilities that Mr. Logan was not un-
 justified in characterising them as a "farrago of legendary
 nonsense, having for definite aim the securing to the Brahman
 caste of unbounded power and influence in the country". The
 records preserved in the State archives and in those of ancient
 temples and old aristocratic families do not relate to any period
 anterior to the seventeenth century, as the records of more

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ancient dates seem to have been destroyed either by the slow action of time or by the prompter action of man.* In these circumstances, all that I propose to do in this section is to give a brief summary of the broad events which are known, or may be reasonably presumed, to have taken place till the end of the fifteenth century. Events of the latter description, it need hardly be said, are but intelligent conjectures based on evidence more or less inadequate. It may probably be interesting and instructive to give a complete resumé of the narratives contained in the *Keralotpatti* and other works and to discuss the probabilities or otherwise of the events narrated therein, but such an undertaking is beyond the scope of the present work. 18634

Origin of
Kerala.

That the tract of country stretching from Gokarnam to Cape Comorin and lying between the Western Ghats and the sea was once under water and that its physical formation was due to some natural process, gradual or convulsive, are now well known and admitted facts. Whether this formation was the result of the protracted antagonism between the silt-laden streams rushing down from the mountains and the sand-bearing currents of the Arabian Sea, or of the sudden upheaval of the earth and the subsidence of the sea by volcanic action is a question which still awaits solution. It is, however, the tradition of its formation by some such process that has given rise to the local legend of its miraculous reclamation by Parasurama. When the land was thus formed and when it began to be inhabited, it is not possible to say with any degree of approximation. But as there is reason to believe that some of the vegetable and animal products of this coast were known to western nations at so early a period as that of King Solomon (B. C. 1000), it may safely be assumed that the formation and colonisation of the country took place not later than the fifteenth century B. C. The earliest known name of the tract was Chera, which however included also Coimbatore, Salem and parts of Mysore and the Nilgiris, but it became subsequently known also as Kerala, which is but a dialectical form of the word Chera. This name seems generally to have been applied only to the coast territory, and probably came into common use after the Chera country on this side of the ghats became politically separated from that on the other side.

Colonisation
of Kerala.
Aborigines.

Pre-historic dolmens or burial cairns, in which are found bones, stone and other implements, pottery and beads, are to be

* Tipu, for instance, destroyed the *granthas* and other records preserved in most of the important temples in the State, some of which he also razed to the ground. The destruction of Syriac books, etc., by Archbishop Menezes in 1599 is a well known incident.

met with here and there, especially in the upland tracts of the country, and the people who found their sepulchre in these cairns must have been the first settlers of Kerala. Subjugated and harassed by the succeeding wave of immigrants or invaders, the race seems to have become extinct many centuries ago, and has left no trace behind them except their unique sepulchres. This second batch of immigrants were in all probability the ancestors of the predial slaves and jungle tribes of the present day, typified respectively by the Cherumars and the Kadars. It is very probable that the Cherumars were in possession of the country for a long period, that they were the "Charmæ" of Magasthenes and probably the first exporters of the produce of the country to the west, that they gave their name to the country (Chera) or the country its name to them, and that in course of time they succumbed in their turn to a hardier race of colonists that followed in their wake, the more adventurous and liberty-loving among them seeking refuge in the impenetrable forests. These are no doubt mere conjectures, but they are not without a strong element of probability in view of the many analogous instances in historical times of the enslavement and extinction of whole tribes as the result of their subjection by more robust and adventurous races.

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The immigrants who subjugated the Cherumars appear to have been the Nayars. They evidently had to make a hard struggle to conquer the country and a harder and more prolonged one to keep their conquest. That they had to maintain themselves for a long time amidst hostile surroundings is evidenced by the peculiarity of the dwelling of the Nayar, which "is as it were a small fort isolated from the dwellings of others and surrounded with such preparations for resistance as would be adequate against comparatively unarmed enemies". Who these Nayars were and where they came from are questions which have not yet been satisfactorily solved. The ordinarily accepted notion is that they are the same as the Sudras of the east coast and that the term Nayar is etymologically identical with Naick or Naidu. It is, however, surmised by some authorities* that the Nayars are of Scythian origin and are identical with the Nagas or Takshaks who entered India in large hordes in the sixth century B. C. and set up

Nayars.

* In his interesting article, "The Namburis of Malabar" in the *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, Mr. K. Narayana Marar has discussed the Scythian origin of the Nayars with considerable force and learning. The striking similarity between the architectures of Malabar and Nepal and the prevalence of polyandry among the Newars as among the Nayars led Ferguson to trace the origin of the latter to the Newars of Nepal. *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 271-2.

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kingdoms in several parts of the continent and in Ceylon. The old tribal organization of the Nayars seems to suggest that they were originally not a Hindu caste but a non-Aryan tribe, while that it was a branch of the Naga tribe is evidenced by a variety of circumstances such as the similarity of the names, the common practice of serpent worship * and of polyandry, and the tradition preserved in the *Keralotpatti* that the first Brahman settlers in Kerala were driven out by the Nagas and that the country was then left in the protection of the Nagas. If this theory is correct, the settlement of the Nayars in Kerala probably took place about the time when a son of the Naga king of Magadha conquered Ceylon and established a Hindu kingdom there, *i. e.*, between the fourth and fifth centuries B. C.

Namburis.

The next immigrants were the Brahmans from the north and the Tiyysans from the south, but it is doubtful which of them came first. The name of the leader of the Brahman immigrants, the ancestors of the Namburis of Malabar, was probably Parasurama, which would account for the introduction into the tradition of the name of the legendary hero who extirpated the race of Kshatriyas thrice seven times. Their first attempt to settle in the country seems to have been opposed by the Nagas, and they had consequently to retrace their steps. But they renewed their attempt at a subsequent period and succeeded eventually in establishing themselves in the country. It has been remarked that "the Aryan colonisation of Southern India was effected not by the force of arms but by the arts of peace", and their colonisation of Kerala was no exception to this rule. The Brahman colonists conciliated the natives by accommodating themselves to their new environments by adopting some of their usages and practices,† while, wherever they went, they diffused around them a halo of higher civilization. "They became the 'fathers' of the less advanced races; and although they classified the non-Aryan multitude as Sudras, yet this term did not connote the ideas of debasement and servitude which it affixed to the non-Aryan races in the north."‡ Their immigration into Kerala must have taken place after the Brahmanical religion, manners and observances had undergone certain well known changes under the influence of Buddhistic teaching, for these innovations are discernible, in

* It is worthy of note that serpents are worshipped in Malabar even to this day under the name of Nagas (Naga-raja, Naga-yakshi, etc.,) and not under any other of the synonyms of serpent.

† The *Keralotpatti* says that the serpents (Nagas) who had formerly been the terror of the Brahmans were made their household gods and that a portion of the shares of the Brahmans was set apart to satisfy them.

‡ Sir W. W. Hunter's *Indian Empire*, p. 329.

almost every detail, in the religion, manners and observances of the Namburis equally with those of other Brahmans. On the other hand, it must have happened before certain customs and usages regarding marriage and adoption, such as the marriage of girls after puberty, the *Sarcasvadana* form of marriage and the *Dicayamushyamana* form of adoption, which were once in force among all Brahmans and are still in force among the Namburis, became obsolete elsewhere. As Buddhistic teaching began to influence Brahmanism in the third century B. C., and the customs and usages mentioned above became obsolete outside Kerala long before the fourth century A. D., the Aryan occupation of Kerala may be presumed to have taken place about the first century before or after Christ. *

The Tiyyans (Tivans or Dwipans, meaning islanders) or Izhuvans (from Izham or Sinhala) are believed to have come from Sinhala (Ceylon) and introduced the cultivation of cocoanut (*ten-kai*, southern fruit) into Kerala. As cocoanut is not mentioned in the list of exports given in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* written probably in the first century A. D., while *Cosmos Indicopleustes*, who wrote in the sixth century, fully describes it, it may be presumed that the immigration of the Tiyyans took place in the third or fourth century after Christ.

Tiyyans or
Izhuvans.

The south of India was from very early times divided into three great kingdoms, the Chera, the Chola and the Pandya. The origin of the Chera dynasty and the date of that origin are unknown. It appears from one of the Edicts of Asoka that Chera or Kerala existed as an independent kingdom in the middle of the third century B. C., while the accounts given by Roman writers and old Tamil poets show that at the beginning of the Christian era it had attained a high degree of civilisation. The Chera kingdom is said to have originally included what were subsequently known as Kerala-desam (the coast territory between Gokarnam and Cape Comorin) and Kongu-desam (Coimbatore, Salem and parts of Mysore and the Nilgiris), but in the early centuries of the Christian era, its extent was confined to the strip of territory on the coast from Pudupattanam to Kannetti, *i. e.*, the present Malabar, Cochin and North Travancore. South Travancore or Venad proper was at this time a part of the Pandya kingdom, and probably Kanara was some time previously wrested from the Cheras by the Kadamba kings of Banavasi, and a Ganga dynasty set up in the transalpine division of Chera. The kings of Chera appear to have been known at this time by the generic name Cheraputras or

The Chera
or Kerala
kingdom.

* *Malabar Quarterly Review*, March 1902.

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HISTORY OF KERALA. This town was of great extent and strongly fortified. "On the
--- battlements were mounted various engines which could throw

missiles on those who attacked the fort. Over the gates in the walls were towers plastered with white mortar and adorned with flags. Surrounding the walls was a large moat in which man-eating alligators of large size abound.* * The King's palace, a temple of Vishnu called Adakamadam or the 'golden shrine', a Buddhist Chaitya, a Nigrantha monastery, which was outside the eastern gate of the fort, appear to have been the most conspicuous edifices in the town. The king's relations, his ministers and high officers of State, the Brahmans, the merchants who dealt in gold and precious stones, the artisans and several other classes of people lived in different parts of the town. Musuris or Cranganur, situated near the mouth of the Periyar, was the chief seaport. It is described by a contemporary poet as "the thriving town of Muchiri where the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas bringing gold come, splashing the white foam in the waters of the Periyar which belongs to Kerala and return laden with pepper". "Fish is bartered for paddy which is brought in baskets to the houses", says another poet. "Sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market; the gold received from the ships, in exchange for articles sold, is brought to shore in barges at Muchiri, where the music of the roaring sea never ceases, and where Kuddavan (the Chera king) presents to the visitors the rare products of the seas and mountains." Several other flourishing towns and ports also are mentioned by Roman and Tamil writers.*

Chera kings. Nothing is known of the early Chera kings except from the few references contained in ancient Tamil literature, from which Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai has unearthed some account of five of these kings. Athan I, who reigned from A. D. 40 to 55, was wounded on the back while fighting at the head of his army against Karikara Chola at Vennil, and unable to bear the disgrace of such a wound, starved himself to death. Unwilling to part from him even in death, some of his favourite companions are said to have voluntarily died with him. His successor Athan II, *alias* Vana Varman, married the daughter of his father's conqueror, and had a peaceful and prosperous reign of thirty-five years. He was succeeded in A. D. 90 by his son Chenk-Kuddavan, *alias* Imaya Varman, who was one of the greatest of the Chera kings and victorious in many wars. To chastise some Aryan kings of the north who sneered at the

* *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 15--16.

Dravidian kings, he led an expedition by sea to the banks of the Ganges, completely defeated their combined forces and made several northern princes his prisoners. From the banks of the Ganges he sent two of the captive princes, Kanaka and Vijaya, in charge of his body guard to be exhibited at the courts of the Chola and Pandya kings. On his death in A. D. 125, he was succeeded by his son Yenaikkad-Chay, who was a very warlike prince and constantly harassed the neighbouring kings. In one of these incursions, however, he was taken prisoner by the Pandyan king, but he managed to escape and regain his power. His son Perumj-Cheral-Irumporai, who reigned from A. D. 135 to 150, slew Athikaman-Elin, one of his feudatory chiefs who revolted, and captured his capital Thakadur, which is believed to be the modern Dharmapuri in the Salem District. *

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A hereditary monarch was the head of the government, but his power was restricted by five councils known as the "Five Great Assemblies", composed of the representatives of the people, priests, physicians, astrologers or augurs, and ministers. The first council safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people, the second directed all religious ceremonies, the third attended to all matters affecting the health of the king and his subjects, the fourth fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events, and the last attended to the collection and expenditure of revenue and the administration of justice. Separate places were assigned in the capital for these assemblies to meet and transact business. The principal officers of State were the high priest, the chief astrologer, the ministers and the commanders of the army. There were special officers appointed to perform the duties of judges and magistrates; but the king was the supreme and final arbiter in all civil and criminal cases. Justice was administered free of charge to the suitors; punishments were severe and crime was rare. A man taken in adultery was put to death and a thief beheaded. Customs, tolls and land-tax were the chief sources of revenue. The tribute paid by vassal chiefs and princes, the booty gained in border expeditions and the profits of royal demesnes also formed a considerable portion of the king's income. One-sixth of the produce on land was the legitimate share of the king, and for water supplied by the State, a water cess was levied from the farmer. †

An extensive traffic sprang up in very early times between the Mediterranean cities and the ports of Kerala. The

Early relations with the west.

* *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 80-101.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 109-12.

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Phoenicians were the first to make their way to these ports, and came by way of the Persian Gulf and afterwards by the Red Sea. It was from them, according to Dr. Burnell, that Southern India derived the *Vattezhuttu* alphabet. The example of the Phoenicians was followed by the Jews in the reign of Solomon, who "had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks". The striking similarity between the Hebrew and Tamil words for apes and peacocks indicates that these articles were obtained from Kerala, and it is also conjectured with some show of reason that Ophir from which Solomon got his gold is identical with Beypore. After the Jews came the Syrians under the Seleucids and the Egyptians under the Ptolemies, both of whom maintained a direct trade with the Malabar ports. None of these nations, however, ventured to take the direct route across the open sea; they carried the merchandize slowly along the coast to Aden, whence it was distributed in the neighbouring countries. But when the Romans, with the beginning of their rule in Egypt, B. C. 30, succeeded to the eastern trade, they were not long in revolutionising the maritime trade of the period by discovering, in the words of Pliny, "a compendious route whereby India was brought so near that a trade thither became very lucrative". The Roman trade with Kerala was on a more extensive scale than that of their predecessors, and was kept up for over two centuries. Among the articles imported by them were spices, cotton goods, glass, copper, brass, tin and lead, and among the exports were pepper in great quantity, ivory, pearls and silks.

The Perumals.

In view of the facts above set forth, which are more or less well authenticated, the account given in the *Keralotpatti* of the government of Kerala by a Brahmanical oligarchy till A. D. 216 and, from that year, by a succession of Perumals chosen by them from Chola, Pandya and other countries must be treated as apocryphal. The later kings of Kerala were probably known popularly by the generic name of Perumal or Cheraman Perumal (the big man of Chera or Kerala), and epigraphic research has revealed the fact that Kerala or divisions thereof were invaded and temporarily subjugated several times in the tenth and the subsequent centuries by the Cholas, the Pandyas and others. The confusion of the tradition relating to the rule of the Perumals in the early centuries of the Christian era and of that relating to the rule of the Chola, Pandya and other kings or their Viceroys in the subsequent centuries seems to be the genesis of the *Keralotpatti* narrative. That there is nothing

far fetched or improbable in this conjecture will be admitted when it is remembered that the *Keralotpatti* makes the Perumal who came to Kerala in A. D. 428 the nominee of Anagundi Krishna Rayar, the well known king of Vijayanagar, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century!

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The name of the last of the Perumals, the Cheraman Perumal *par excellence*, figures largely in all the traditions of Kerala. That he was the last of the Perumals, that he became a convert to Bouddha-matam (Buddhism or? Muhammadanism) and that he abdicated his throne after dividing his kingdom among his chief nobles and relatives are the circumstances that figure most prominently in the main tradition relating to him. That tradition is so strong and so implicitly believed by all classes of the people—and, according to the Portuguese writers of the period, it was as strong and as much credited four hundred years ago as it is now—that we cannot but admit that it has some foundation of fact for it. Not only is there nothing inherently improbable in it, but, if properly understood, the tradition fits in with several ascertained facts of subsequent history. The date assigned by tradition to the Perumal's abdication and the division of his kingdom is A. D. 385. Without pledging ourselves to this exact date, we may assume these events to have happened about the fifth or sixth century A. D., in which case the faith to which the last of the Perumals became a convert could not have been Muhammadanism. Buddhism had made great progress in Southern India in the early centuries of the Christian era, and we have seen that there was a Buddhist Chaitya in the vicinity of the king's palace and the chief Hindu temple in Tiruvanchikulam. If, therefore, the Perumal did become a convert, it must have been to Buddhism.

The date above assigned to the last of the Perumals and the tradition about the division of his kingdom are now questioned on the supposed evidence of the copper plate grants made to the Jews and the Syrian Christians. As there is reason to think that these grants were made later than the seventh century, there must have been Perumals subsequent to the fifth century, and as the *Utayavars* or chiefs of some of the *Nads* or States of Malabar are cited as witnesses in two of the grants, some at least of the chiefs among whom the kingdom is said to have been divided must have been in existence before the time of the last of the Perumals. This objection is based on the assumption, made by most of the writers on the ancient history of Malabar following the lead of Dr. Gundhert, that the copper plate grants must have been

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made by the Perumals and not by any of the local kings after the division of Kerala.* There is however absolutely no warrant for such an assumption. It is, on the other hand, more in keeping with Malabar tradition and the probabilities of history to suppose that these grants proceeded from local chiefs—the grant to the Jews and the one to the Mahodayapattanam division of Christians from the King of Cochin, and the grant to the Kurikkeni-Kollam Christians from the King of Quilon. The first two deeds make it clear that at the time of their execution Venad, Venmalanad, Ernad, Walluvanad and Perumpalayurnad were separate principalities; the rule of the grantors of these charters was therefore confined practically to Perumpadappumad or the kingdom of Cochin. Surely there is no necessity here to invoke the shade of an eponymous Perumal to stand sponsor to these grants; nor is any laboured explanation necessary, like the one given by Dr. Gundbert and others, to account for the absence of the name of Perumpadappu from the deeds. The introduction into the deeds of the names of the brother kings of Kerala is perfectly intelligible on this hypothesis. Custom was the law of the land, and the same custom was common in every detail to all the Malabar States. The granting of important privileges, like those mentioned in the copper plate deeds, to a community altogether alien in religion and nationality was an innovation of no ordinary kind, and such a deviation from custom could not be made by any king without the knowledge and approval of the other kings of Kerala. The grants were therefore made by the Raja of Cochin with the knowledge and approval of the remaining Rajas mentioned above. It is a significant fact that all the Jewish settlements and most of those of the Mahodayapattanam Christians were in the territory of Cochin and its feudatories. This preference was obviously due to their natural attachment to the State that granted to them such valued privileges. If these privileges were granted to them by a Perumal who held sway over the whole of Kerala, their consistent

* From the way in which most writers on this subject have dealt with it, it would seem as if grants on copper plates could be made only by the Perumals and not by any of the kings of divided Kerala. The latest writer on the subject says, with reference to the second of the above grants: "Assuming the deed to belong to the eighth century, Dr. Burnell arrived at A. D. 774 as the only possible year. But on palaeographic grounds Mr. V. Venkayya, the present acting Epigraphist to Government, assigns the document to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and Professor Kielhorn would fix its date as Saturday, 15th March 1320. If Professor Kielhorn's date for the Kottayam plate of Viraraghava Chakravarti is accepted, it must be inferred that a Perumal was ruling in A. D. 1320... The last of the Perumals may therefore have ceased to rule some time between 1320 and 1342". (*Malabar District Gazetteer*, pp. 36 and 42.)

avoidance of even such prosperous and favoured places as Quilon, Calicut and Cannanore is inexplicable.*

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The kingdom of Parumpadappu or Cochin came into existence on the division or dismemberment of Kerala about the sixth century A. D. According to tradition, the first king of Cochin was the son of a sister of the last of the Perumals, and was therefore his direct heir under the *Marumakkattayam* law of succession. The name of the first king is said to have been Vira Kerala Varma, probably "the king of kings Vira Kerala Chakravarti" of the Syrian copper plate, and it is in consequence of this that Vira Kerala became a standing appellation of the kings of Cochin.† Nothing however is definitely known about the early history of Cochin, and it will probably have to remain for ever involved in obscurity.

EARLY
HISTORY OF
COCHIN.

Epigraphic research has brought to light the names— and but little more than the names— of three of the early kings of Cochin, Bhaskara Ravi Varma, Vira Raghava and Goda Ravi Varma. The name of the first of these, "the king of kings, the glorious Bhaskara Ravi Varma", appears in the copper plate grant to the Jews, in the Tirunelli ‡ copper plate and in a stone inscription in the well known temple of Trikkakara, four miles to the north-east of Ernakulam. Whether it is the name of the same king that appears in the three inscriptions is more than doubtful; most probably, the Bhaskara Ravi Varma of the Tirunelli plate was a north Kolattiri king, while that of the Jews' deed and the Trikkakara inscription was one and the

Early
kings of
Cochin.

* Want of space precludes a fuller discussion of the subject, but one or two additional points may however be adverted to here. If there is any truth in the information received by Mr. Logan that there exists at Zaphar on the Arabian coast the tomb of a Hindu king, who became a convert to Islam, with the inscription "Abdul Rahiman Samiri, arrived A. H. 212; died A. H. 216" (corresponding to 827-831 A. D.), it is obviously a Zamorin, not a Perumal, that lies buried there. This probably accounts for the tradition regarding the conversion of a Perumal to Muhammadanism. The petty chief of Ernad would have assumed the high sounding title of Zamorin (king of the hills and waves) only after he rose considerably in power and importance, a work of generations, probably of centuries. The existence of a Zamorin at this period therefore shows that the rule of the Perumals came to a close long before the ninth century. It may also be mentioned here for what it is worth that a Malayalam translation of the Jewish deed appears in an old *grantha* preserved in the State archives with the following heading: "Copy of the copper plate granted to the Mudaliyar (chief) of Jews by His Highness (of Cochin)." The date of the deed, according to this translation, is 390 M. E. (1215 A. D.)

† The full official designation in the vernacular of the Rajas of Cochin has been and is "Perumpadappu Gangadhara Vira Kerala Trikkovil Adhikarikal".

‡ A well known temple in North Wynad. See *Indian Antiquary*, XX, pp. 285-392.

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same king of Cochin. The two temple inscriptions record certain transactions relating to temple dues, which are of no historical importance, but the Jew's deed is very interesting and important, as it evidences the bestowal of important rights and privileges on an alien community like that of the Jews many centuries ago and as it also gives the names of the kingdoms into which Kerala was divided on the termination of the rule of the Perumals. The date of the deed is assumed by Dr. Burnell and others to be the eighth century, but it is a problem that still awaits solution. The date given in the *grantha* in the State archives, namely, 1215 A. D., is probably the correct one. The name of Vira Raghava Chakravarti appears in the copper plate deed which conferred on Mahodayapattanam Christians privileges similar to those conferred on the Jews by Bhaskara Ravi Varma. The king is described in the deed as one "upon whom the blessed rule devolved through regular succession from the king of kings Vira Kerala Chakravarti" (the first of the line). As regards the date of this deed, Dr. Burnell thought that A. D. 774 was the only possible year, but Dr. Kielhorn would fix it as 15th March 1320. The name of Goda Ravi Varma appears in a stone inscription in the Vishnu temple at Tripunittura, but nothing further is known about him, nor is there any indication of its date in the inscription.

Jews and
Christians.

In the first centuries of the Christian era, a number of Jews immigrated into Kerala and settled in that portion of it which afterwards became the kingdom of Cochin, and Christianity also made its way into the country about the same time. Both these communities seem to have been allowed to remain in the country unmolested, and, helped on by their own enterprise and by the intercourse which they kept up with the Eastern Mediterranean countries, they appear to have steadily grown in prosperity and importance, so much so that the local kings by charters engraved in copper plates constituted them self-governing communities. By these charters, Joseph Rabban was made the hereditary chief of the Jews, and Iravi Cottan that of the Christians, and they were also given the powers and privileges of *Naduvazhi* chiefs. Most of the privileges mentioned in the Jew's deed are identical with those enumerated in the grant to the Christians, but the latter were also given the right of "the curved sword", that is, the right of carrying arms, which was not granted to the Jews. These privileges must have been granted in return for substantial help, pecuniary and otherwise, which was rendered to the kings by these trading communities in repelling foreign aggressions.

The Brahman colonists of Kerala did not take long in acquiring a predominant position in the country. They gradually established themselves in sixty-four *gramams* (villages, cantons or colonies) scattered over the length and breadth of the land, and by their immense superiority in intelligence, culture and knowledge, they acquired great ascendancy over the people and their rulers. They became the preceptors and guides of the people in both spiritual and temporal matters and attained a commanding position in the councils of the king. Epigraphic research has shown that from the fifth century forwards the different dynasties of Southern India made grant after grant of lands to Brahmans, with libations of water (the well known incident of the *nirattipper* tenure in Malabar), in order to increase the religious merit of the grantor and of their deceased relatives. We may conclude from this and from their position as great landed proprietors in historical times that similar grants were made to the Brahmans on an extensive scale by the rulers and chiefs of Kerala. To protect their interest the Brahmans are said to have divided their sixty-four colonies into four circles represented by the four principal *gramams* of Parappur, Perinchellur, Payyannur and Chenganiyur, and to have periodically elected a *Taliyatiri* to represent each circle in the council of the king at Tiruvanchikulam. Nor did they neglect the advantages of military training, as a section among them long continued to be *Ayudhapanis* (weapon-bearers or armed men). In course of time—it is not known when and under what circumstances—the whole community became split up into two antagonistic divisions known as the *Kurus* or factions of Panniyur and Chovaram, the names of two of the original sixty-four *gramams*. This division took place before the grant of the Syrian deed of Vira Raghava Chakravarti, as these two factions are cited in it as witnesses. What opposing interests were represented by the two divisions is not clear: probably they were sectarian, Panniyur being Vishnuite and Chovaram Sivite. It is however well known that every Namburi, every chief and every high caste man in Kerala (except probably Venad and Polanad) came to be known as belonging to the one or the other of these factions, and that the Zamorin became the chief of the Panniyur and the King of Cochin that of the Chovaram faction. The points of distinction between the two factions must in former times have been important and well marked, as they materially influenced the

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Foreign
invasions.

political alliances and combinations of Malabar chiefs for centuries. At present however they are not perceptible except perhaps in the modes of dressing victuals.*

In the inscriptions of Southern India and in contemporary Tamil literature, there are references to repeated invasions and conquests of Kerala by the Cholas, the Pandyas, the western Chalukyas, the Pallavas, the Rashtrakutas and others from the sixth to the fourteenth centuries. But the inflated language of poets and inscription writers vaunting the victories and conquests of their patrons should be taken *cum grano salis*. One invader is said to have withered up the Kerala king and another to have uprooted the Kerala race, and yet the several kingdoms into which Kerala was divided remained in the sixteenth century practically what they were at the time of the Jewish deed. This could not have been the case if all the divisions of Kerala had been repeatedly brought under subjection by foreign invaders. No doubt, one State or another of Kerala was invaded more than once by the Cholas, Chalukyas, Gangas and others, and tribute was probably drawn from one or more of the Malayali chiefs, but it is more than improbable that the whole of Kerala was permanently conquered by any of these invaders. At any rate, as pointed out by Mr. Logan, "these invasions do not seem to have left any permanent impression on the country or to have given rise to any changes among the ruling families."† Cochin must have had her share of these troubles several times, but we know definitely of only two invasions in which she was individually interested. In 917 A. D. a large Ganga army consisting chiefly of cavalry invaded the territory of the Palghat Raja, but was driven back with great slaughter by Cochin, assisted by the Zamorin and the

* The rivalry between the factions is now hardly more than nominal, but it struck the Portuguese and the Dutch in their time as important. De Couto gives an account of the two divisions of the people, "one following the Zamorin under the name of Paidaricuro and the other following the King of Cochin under the name of Logiricuro". (*Asia*, Dec. V, Book I, Chapter I, M. S. translation.) Correa also gives a similar account, in which he calls the Cochin faction Joreculo. (*Lendas da India*, Vol. V, p. 26.). Cantervisscher says, "The adherents of the two parties are called the Pandelakoers and the Chodderakoers; and just as Italy was formerly torn by the two rival factions of the Guelph and Ghibelliner, and England distracted by the wars of the White and Red roses, and the Netherlands had to shed tears of blood owing to the ravages of the Kaabeljancos and Flocks so has the trumpet of war blown by the Pandelakoers and Chodderakoers often summoned the princes of Malabar to mutual hostilities". (*Letters from Malabar*, p. 49.)

† *The Manual of Malabar*, Vol. I, p. 281.

Rajas of Palghat and Walluvanad. For this service and to enable her the better to protect the country from invasion at this point, the Palghat Raja ceded to Cochin the territories known as Naludesam and Kodakaranad, which constitute the present Taluk of Chittur.* The next was the successful invasion of the Chola King Rajendra II at the beginning of the eleventh century, when he conquered Magodai or Tiruvanchikulam, and seized "the crown praised by many and the garland of the sun, family treasures which the arrow shooting (king of) Kerala rightfully were; many ancient islands, whose old and great guard was the sea, which resounds with conches; the crown of pure gold worthy of Lakshmi, which Parasurama, having considered the fortifications of Sandimatteva impregnable, had deposited there when in anger (he) bound the kings twenty-one times in battle." †

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In 1310, Malik Kafur overran the kingdoms of Southern India and crushed their power, and consequently the Malabar States, which were left undisturbed by the invasion, enjoyed immunity from foreign aggression and interference during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These States, however, especially those of Cochin and Calicut, were constantly at war with each other, each trying to get supremacy over the rest. Cochin was for long the chief power in Kerala, but her power was gradually weakened by dissensions in the royal family, which in the course of time became divided into five branches or dynasties. The Zamorin, on the other hand, was but a minor chief at first, but he gradually extended and consolidated his power by bringing under subjection all the petty chiefs in his neighbourhood. He then turned his arms against Cochin, and for the next four or five centuries the rivalry between these two powers was the most important factor in the politics of Kerala. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the influence of the Zamorin began to preponderate in Malabar, and before its close he acquired a sort of suzerainty over Cochin. Three circumstances mainly contributed to the success of the Zamorin in his schemes of aggrandizement. In the fourteenth century, Arab merchants began to settle in large numbers in Calicut and its

Fourteenth
and fifteenth
centuries.

* The *Grandhavari* of the Palghat Rajas, preserved in the Kavalapara Estate. It is probably the anniversary of this victory (*Kongu-pada*) that is still celebrated every year at Chittur with great pomp and ceremony.

† *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 28.

CHAPTER II. EARLY HISTORY OF COCHIN. neighbourhood, and the Zamorin not only extended his protection to them, but also treated them with conspicuous favour and consideration. In return for these favours, the Muhammadans rendered effective aid to the Zamorin both in men and money in his campaigns against the neighbouring chiefs. The dissensions in the royal family of Cochin also materially helped the Zamorin in his schemes, as these enabled him always to count confidently upon having allies in the enemy's camp. The third circumstance was the bitter and unrelenting enmity of the chiefs of Idappilli towards Cochin. The tract of land which comprises the present towns of Cochin and Mattancheri and their vicinity belonged originally to Idappilli, but early in the fifteenth century, the Raja of Idappilli made a present of it to the King of Cochin who happened to be his son. His successors rescuted this cession of territory, and made repeated attempts without success to regain it. They at last appealed to the Zamorin for help, and in all his subsequent wars with Cochin, the Zamorin was able to count upon the faithful and consistent help of an ally whose territory was in the heart of Cochin.

Accounts of
travellers.

It may be of some interest to refer to the accounts given by travellers who visited this coast in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Friar Jordanus of Severac, who came to Quilon in 1324 and spent some years in mission work among the Nestorians, warmly praises the rulers of Malabar for their toleration and the mildness of their rule, and with regard to the people he says that "they are clean in their feeding, true in speech and eminent in justice, maintaining carefully the privileges of every man according to his degree, as they have come down from old times".* The great Arab traveller Abu Abdulla Mahomed, better known as Ibn Batuta, came to this coast about 1347 and stayed three years, wandering in the Malabar cities. He has left a long account of Malabar, interesting extracts from which appear elsewhere in this volume. In 1409, Ma Huan† visited Cochin, and the following summary of his account is given by Mr. George Phillips. ‡

"The king or ruler is of the solar race, and is a sincere believer in Buddhism§ and has the greatest reverence for elephants and oxen, and every morning at day light prostrates himself before an image of Buddha. The king wears no

* *The Wonders of the East*, edited by Col. H. Yule (Hakluyt Society).

† *Vide ante*, p. 2.

‡ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, April 1896.

§ "Our traveller", says Mr. Phillip in a note, "makes no distinction between Buddhism and Hinduism."

clothing on the upper part of his person ; he has simply a square of silk wound round his loins, kept in place by a coloured waist band of the same material, and on his head a turban of yellow or white cotton cloth. The dress of the officers and the rich differs but little from that of the king. The houses are built of the wood of the cocoanut tree, and thatched with its leaves, which render them perfectly water-tight. There are five classes of men in this kingdom. The Nayars rank with the king. In the first class are those who shave their heads, and have a thread or string hanging over their shoulders ; these are looked upon as belonging to the noblest families.* In the second are the Mahomedans ; in the third the Chettis, who are the capitalists ; in the fourth the Kolings,† who act as commission agents, and the fifth the Mukwas, who live in houses which are forbidden by the Government to be more than three feet high, and they are not allowed to wear long garments ; when abroad, if they happen to meet a Nayar or a Chetti, they at once prostrate themselves on the ground, and dare not rise until they have passed by ; these Mukwas get their living by fishing and carrying burdens. The merchants of this country carry on their business as pedlars do in China. Here also is another class of men, called Chokis (Yogis), who lead austere lives like the Taoists of China, but who, however, are married. These men from the time they are born do not have their heads shaved or combed, but plait their hair into several tails, which hang over their shoulders ; they wear no clothes, but round their waists they fasten a strip of rattan, over which they hang a piece of white calico ; they carry a conch-shell, which they blow as they go along the road ; they are accompanied by their wives, who simply wear a small bit of cotton round their loins. Alms of rice and money are given to them by the people whose houses they visit.* *The soil is unproductive ; pepper, however, grows on the hills and is extensively cultivated ; this article is sold at five taels the P'o- ho,‡ which is four hundred Cuttis of Chinese weight. All trading transactions are carried on by the Chettis, who buy the pepper from the farmers when it is ripe, and sell it to foreign ships when they pass by. They also buy and collect precious stones and other costly wares. A pearl weighing three-and-a-half caudareens can be bought for a hundred ounces of silver. Coral is sold by the Cutti ; inferior pieces of coral are cut into beads and polished by skilled workmen ; these are also sold by weight. The coinage of the country is a gold piece, called fanam,§ weighing one caudareen ; there is also a little silver coin called a Ta-urh, which is used for making small purchases in the market. Fifteen Ta-urhs make a fanam. There are no asses or geese in this country, and there is neither wheat nor barley ; rice, maize, hemp, and millet abound. Articles of tribute are sent to China by our ships on their return voyage."

Abdur-razak, a Persian envoy, visited Malabar in 1442, and his description of the Zamorin's rule may be taken as typical of the government of the Malabar States at the time. "Security and justice," says he, "are so firmly established in the city (Calicut) that the most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes which

* The Namburi Brahmans evidently.

† It is not clear who these are.

‡ Bahar or *bharan*, which is equal to about 3 cwt. A tael is equal to five rupees approximately.

§ Nearly equal to eight annas.

CHAPTER II. they unload, and unhesitatingly send to the markets and the
 EARLY bazaars, without thinking in the meantime of necessity of
 HISTORY OF checking the accounts or keeping watch over the goods. The
 COCHIN. officers of the custom-house take upon themselves the charge
 of looking after the merchandize, over which they keep watch
 night and day. When a sale is effected, they make on them a
 charge of one-fortieth part; if they are not sold, they make
 no charge on them whatsoever.”*

COCHIN Before we come to authentic history, it may not be out
 IN 1500. of place to give some account of the state of the country and
 Introduc- its institutions at the beginning of the sixteenth century
 tory. before they were in any way affected by European influence.
 Owing however to the dearth of materials and to the want of
 facilities to utilize in their entirety such materials as do exist,
 the account will necessarily be incomplete and fragmentary.
 But as breaking ground in regard to the several subjects dealt
 with and as throwing some light on the previous and subse-
 quent history of the country, it is hoped that the narrative will
 not be without interest.

Extent of The kingdom of Cochin about this time comprised a much
 the State. larger extent of territory than it does now: it was reduced
 to its present limits by the conquests of the Zamorin and of
 Travancore in the eighteenth century. In the south, Cochin
 then comprised Karapuram, Kurunad, Kunnatnad, and the
 petty chief-ships of Udayamperur, Chembil, Vadutala, etc., cor-
 responding approximately to the present Travancore taluks of
 Shertala, Kunnatnad and parts of Vaikam and Ettumanur,
 and in the south, Vannerinad of the Ponnani taluk and, pro-
 bably, Kavalapara; while the Rajas of Porakad, Vadakunkur,
 Mangad and Parur, who ruled over the present taluks of
 Anbalapuzha, Todupuzha, Meenachil, Muvattupuzha, Alangad,
 Parur and part of Ettumanur were tributary to Cochin.
 Cranganur was at this time tributary to the Zamorin. The
 total area of the country including that of the tributary States
 was approximately 4,000 square miles. The extent however
 underwent constant fluctuations owing to the frequent wars
 that were waged with the neighbouring kings but under normal
 conditions the above represented the limits of the State.

The royal The royal family was divided into five *tavazhis* or branches,
 family. viz., the Mutta, the Elaya, the Pallurutti, the Madattumkil or
 Muringur and the Chazhur *tavazhis*. Each branch seems to

* R. H. Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 13. (Hakluyt Society).

have had its own family seat and crown lands for its support, its own retainers and militia of Nayars, while the right of succession to the musnad was common to all, the eldest male member of all the five branches taken together being the reigning Raja. The internal dissensions to which such a state of things naturally gave rise were the cause of the political emasculation of the country more than the growing power of the Zamorin. In fact, the Zamorin took advantage of these dissensions to extend and consolidate his power and dominion, and, as will be seen presently, in several of his wars one or more branches of the Cochin family were ranged on his side against the ruling head of their family. The peculiar custom that governed the succession to the musnad under certain circumstances was also a fruitful source of discord. If the ruling chief grew too old or otherwise too feeble to govern the country efficiently in those troublous times, he relinquished the reins of government and led the life of a religious recluse, entrusting the administration either to the rightful heir or to the next eldest member of his own branch of the family. In the latter case, the regent was bound, on the death of the retired chief, not only to make way for the rightful heir but also to retire from the world and become a religious recluse. The object of this latter provision was to prevent him from using against the succeeding ruler, as he might otherwise be tempted to use, the power and prestige that he might have gained when he was acting as *de facto* sovereign of the State.*

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The government was based more or less on principles resembling those of the feudal system of Europe in the middle ages. The king was the supreme ruler of the country, but local administration was in the hands of hereditary chiefs subordinate to him. The kingdom was divided into a

The go-
vernment.

* The accounts given by Portuguese writers of this custom are to be understood as above explained. As they stand, their accounts would sound preposterous to local readers. The following is from Mr. Whiteaway's *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 107-8:—"The chieftainship of Cochin had, at the time of Almeida's arrival there, become vacant through the operation of an old custom. The head of the Cochin line was always a priest in charge of the worship of a temple, the next in succession was the ruling chief. On the death of the head, therefore, the ruling chief—who in this case was Trimumpara, the early friend of the Portuguese—was promoted to the temple. The question was, who was to succeed him? The senior of the sister's son in the direct line was closely allied with the enemies of the Portuguese, and the latter arranged, though not without difficulty, to set him aside for another nephew more favourable to themselves. Trimumpara died in 1510, when the Portuguese found it convenient to abolish this custom."

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number of *nads* or districts of varying extent, each presided over by a hereditary chief called *Naduvazhi*, and each *nad* was for military and other purposes divided into *desams*, some of which were presided over by hereditary *Desavazhis*, while the others, being the private property of the *Naduvazhi* or the king, were administered by the latter directly or by officers appointed by them. The *desam* was further subdivided not into territorial units but into caste or tribal groups such as the *gramam* of the Namburis, the *tara* of the Nayars, the *cheri* of the low castes, the territorial limits of which, though more or less well defined, overlapped each other. The *nad* and *desam* of this coast differed from analogous territorial divisions elsewhere in that they consisted not of so many towns and villages, but of so many Nayars, such as the "Five Hundred" of Kodakaranad, the "Four Hundred" of Annamanad and the "Three Hundred" of Chengazhinad. The affairs of the caste or tribal groups were under the management of headmen or elders, *Graminis*, *Karanavans*, *Tandans*, etc., as the case might be. The *Karanavans* looked after the local affairs of the *tara*, superintended the cultivation of the *desmenes* of their chief, who might be a king, a *Naduvazhi*, a *Desavazhi* or a mere *janmi*, received a share of the produce for their maintenance, and rendered military service to him, whenever called upon to do so. The *Desavazhis*, where they existed, had the direction of all the affairs of the *desam*, and saw to the execution of all the orders sent to them by the king or the *Naduvazhi*. They were also military leaders, subject to the authority of the *Naduvazhis*, and marched at the head of their quotas when ordered to the field. The *Naduvazhis* had authority in their respective *nads* in all civil and military matters, but the extent of that authority and the degree of their subordination to the king depended upon their political status. All of them however were bound to maintain a number of men at arms, fixed according to their position and wealth, and to attend the king in his wars.*

The *Naduvazhis*.

The *Naduvazhi* chiefs, by whatever designation they were styled, whether *Raja* or *Acchan* or *Kaimal* or merely *Nayar*, belonged to one of three classes, viz., *Svarupi*, *Prabhu* and *Madambi*. All who had the power of life and death were *Svarupis*. A *Svarupi* might therefore be an independent king like that of Cochin or Calicut, or he might be a tributary *Raja*

*. The names of the *nads* into which Cochin and its feudatory States were at this time divided, the extent of each *nad*, the names of the *Naduvazhis* and their respective status cannot now be given with fulness and accuracy.

like that of Porakad or Alangad, the only restriction on whose power was that they could not make war or coin money without the sanction of their suzerain, or he might be a subordinate chief like the Kaimal of Koratti or the Nambiyar of Muriyanad, governing a district under the orders of the king. The Prabhu differed from the third class of Svarupis only in that he had no power of life and death. He might be wealthier and more powerful than a Svarupi, but he could not exercise the power of life and death unless he was raised to the rank of a Svarupi. The Madambis were petty chiefs with very limited powers, who had only very small bodies of armed retainers under them, seldom exceeding a hundred in number. All had to pay the king a succession fee or *purushandaram*, varying from two to 1,200 fanams, a small annual tribute called *andukazhcha*, and an annual contribution for special protection variously called *rakshabhogam*, *changatam*, *palam*, etc. The Madambis had to pay, besides these, the assessment called *kettutengu*, which was a cess levied only on three per cent. of the cocoanut trees in a garden. No regular land tax was levied from the Svarupis and Prabhus, but they were called upon for special contributions on extraordinary occasions. The merits and defects of government through the agency of hereditary nobles who were also commanders of armies are self-evident. The conflicting interests of the chiefs and their mutual jealousies and misunderstandings led to endless quarrels and faction fights, and the country was generally in a state of political effervescence. The same circumstances also made it the interest of the chiefs to protect their people and promote their prosperity, and that prosperity was not seriously interfered with by the wars and fights of those days, as the latter were governed by certain humanitarian rules and regulations which were scrupulously observed by all parties.

The majority of the Naduvazhi chiefs were Nayars, the rest being Namburis, Kshatriyas, Ambalavasis, and certain ecclesiastical heads. The more important *Devasvams* or religious institutions of the Hindus occupied a peculiar position in those days, somewhat similar to that of some of the Catholic churches in the middle ages which exercised temporal authority. They owned extensive lands, and in their domains they exercised, through their respective ecclesiastical heads, the powers of Naduvazhi chiefs, and were more or less independent in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. To have *Kshetra-sambandham*, or authority of some kind or other in connection with

CHAPTER II. such temples, was considered a great honour even by princes
 COCHIN IN and chiefs, and they constantly intrigued and fought to obtain
 1500. it without reference to the situation of such institutions.
 ——— About this time, for instance, the rulers of Cochin, Calicut,
 Palghat and Kakkad acquired some power, more or less well
 defined, over the Tiruvilvamala Devasvam, which was (and
 even now is) situated in Cochin territory. Similarly, the Rajas
 of Vadakunkur, Parur and Porakad managed to acquire some
 authority in connection with the Vadakunnathan, Perumanan
 and Kudalmanikkam Devasvams respectively, all situated in
 the heart of Cochin, while Cochin came to exercise similar
 powers over the Tiruvalla and Haripad Devasvams in Travan-
 core. This scramble for power over religious institutions used
 to be prolific of disputes and misunderstandings, which have
 survived to our own times.

The power
 of the king.

Though the king exercised great authority over his subjects
 and chiefs, his power was not unlimited. In the first place,
 personal equation was an important factor in the politics of old
 Cochin. If the king happened to be a weak man, his authority
 was hardly more than nominal, especially in the territories
 directly under the control of his chiefs. If he was a strong man
 and a capable ruler, he managed to exercise great power, but
 even the power of such a king was not absolute. The *kuttam* of
 the *nad*, or the national assembly, effectively curbed the power of
 the king, and would not tolerate any violation by him of the laws
 and usages of the country. "When a new king is crowned," says
 Duarte Barbosa, "all the grandees and former governors make
 him swear to maintain all the laws of the late king, and to pay
 the debts which he owed, and to labour to recover that which
 other former kings had lost. And he takes this oath, holding a
 drawn sword in his left hand, and his right hand placed upon
 a chain lit up with many oil wicks, in the midst of which is a
 gold ring, which he touches with his fingers, and then he swears
 to maintain everything with that sword. When he has taken
 the oath, they sprinkle rice over his head, with many ceremonies
 of prayer and adoration to the sun, and immediately after, cer-
 tain counts, whom they call Caymal, along with all the
 others of the royal lineage, and the grandees, swear to him
 in the same manner to serve him, and to be loyal and
 true to him."* The chiefs and the people thus obeyed
 the king ungrudgingly so long as he remained within the

* *The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* (Hakluyt Society), pp. 107-8.

limits of the law. Even if a king or chief were to worry some individuals, the whole community would not rise against him, but if any orders issued were prejudicial to the interests of the community, the people would not submit to them. Hendrik Adrian Van Rheede, the Dutch Governor of Cochin from 1673 to 1677 and the celebrated author of *Hortus Malabaricus* says:—"Subjects are not bound to observe any orders, commands or whims and council decisions of the king which are at variance with their laws, prosperity or privileges, and which they have approved of in their own territories and accepted at their political meetings. * * No king of Malabar has the power to make contracts which are prejudicial to the interests of landlords, noblemen, or Nayars; such a king would run the risk of being expelled or rejected by his subjects * * * The English East India Company's Linguist at Calicut, reporting on certain commotions there, said:—"These Nayars, being heads of Calicut people, resemble the Parliament, and do not obey the king's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts".† According to the *Keralot-patti*, Parasurama separated the Nayars into taras and assigned to them the functions of "the eye", "the hand", and "the order" (the power to supervise, to execute and to give orders), "with a view to prevent the rights (of all classes) from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse".

No Portuguese writer has to my knowledge left any account of the National Assemblies of Malabar. The following account is therefore extracted from the work of a Dutch writer:—‡

National as-
semblies.

"The only checks upon their arbitrary power are the general assemblies of the nation, which are however but seldom held. These are of two kinds: one assembled under orders of the Raja, the other by the spontaneous will of the people. Many years elapse between the recurrence of these assemblies. Those summoned by the Raja are conducted as follows:—He despatches messengers, who by birth and descent are entitled to this office, in all directions to summon the people. When collected, they sit down in a circle in the open air, a number of Nayars keeping guard around them. The propositions are then discussed and measures rejected or adopted by unanimous silence or clamour. But, in affairs of minor importance not affecting the welfare of the whole community, the chiefs of the nation alone are summoned, and decide upon the question. The assemblies collected by the will of the nation are conducted in much the same manner, but with

* *Memoir on the Malabar Coast* by J. V. Spein Van Gollennesse, 1743 A. D.

† Logan's *Manual of Malabar*, p. 89.

‡ Cantorvisscher's *Letters from Malabar*, pp. 76-77.

CHAPTER II.
COCHIN
IN 1500.

more impetuosity. These are never held except in cases of emergency when the Raja is guilty of extreme tyranny or gross violation of the law. Then, all the landed proprietors are bidden to attend, and any one who dared refuse to obey the summons would be subjected by the assembly to the devastation of his gardens, houses, estates, tanks, etc., and, if he were to persist in his obstinacy, would be liable to be deprived of his privileges and votes, or even to be sentenced to banishment. As the object of these assemblies is to thwart the will of the Raja, we are not surprised to find that he does all in his power to obstruct their deliberations. He has no right to attempt to put them down by force of arms, and, besides, so many thousands flock to these meetings that he would find difficulty in so doing, if he tried: so he sends a troop of lads called *Pandara Patte* * with instructions to provoke them with all manner of annoyances, and to pelt them with stones, sand and dirt. The Nayars on guard do all they can to keep off the assailants with their shields. If any one, provoked past endurance, were to strike and hurt one of those youths, it would by their laws be regarded as a crime of treason, the assembly would be involved in a heavy fine, and be deprived of its inviolability; and the Raja might then proceed against them by arms: if he were to fail in subduing them, they would all desert their allegiance. Allies and neighbours do their best to remedy all the mischief thence ensuing and endeavour so to intercede between the parties that every one is confirmed in his rights."†

Revenue.

The chief sources of the king's revenue were the crown lands and customs. What the extent of the crown lands at this time was and what income was derived from them, there is no means of ascertaining. As the property of the chiefs and vassals dying without heirs escheated to the sovereign, this was obviously a steadily increasing item of revenue. The chiefs enjoyed the same privilege with respect to persons dependent upon them. Owing to the large import and export trade that Cochin enjoyed with foreign countries, the customs duties formed a substantial portion of the king's income. A duty of 10 per cent. was levied on all imports and of 6 per cent. on all exports. About eighty years after the Portuguese established themselves in Cochin, these duties were divided between them and the Raja, the share of the former being about a third. Besides these, inland customs at the rate of one per cent. *ad valorem* were levied at a number of stations, and as these duties went to the king or the chiefs according to the situation of the stations, payment of duty at one station did not exempt the goods from payment at any other station or stations

* Stands for *Pandara Pillar*. Their occupation now is menial service in the palace.

† For a fuller treatment of the subject, see Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon's article, *Popular Assemblies in Early and Medieval Kerala*, in the *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. V, pp. 8-22.

by which they were carried. The average receipts on account of customs during the Portuguese period amounted to between two and three lakhs of rupees a year. As already pointed out, though there was no regular land tax, the king derived a fair income from the garden lands held by Madambis on account of the *kettutengu* levied thereon. There were also several other items of receipt, * but the aggregate of these items formed but a small fraction of the total revenue. If the total revenue so derived was not large, the expenditure to be provided for was also not heavy. As the administration, civil and military, was conducted through hereditary chiefs who enjoyed large incomes from their tax-free lands, the administrative expenditure was inconsiderable. The maintenance of the royal family in pomp, the conduct of religious and other ceremonies and the support of charitable institutions were the only heavy items of expenditure for which provision was needed.

* The following are the several sources of revenue :—

Ankam, fight, duel, battle-wager, which was the money the king received as umpire between two combatants under the system of battle-wager.

Chunkam, toll, custom, which has been referred to above.

Ezha, penalty, exacting presents. The usurpation of estates of such neighbouring Rajas, Naduvazhis or other chiefs as might be incapacitated from poverty or other cause from governing.

Kozha, forced contribution.

Tappu, slip, blunder. Fines levied for accidental, unintentional crimes.

Pizha, fault, fines levied for intentional crimes.

Purushandaram, succession duty.

Palayattu pamm, Adulterous women. Compensation received for maintaining women excommunicated for adultery, chiefly but not exclusively of the Brahman caste, and for the trouble of preventing their going astray again. The Rajas however often disposed of them for money to the Chetti merchants on the coast.

Ponnarippu, gold-sifting. Royalty to be paid for sifting gold or, generally, gold dust.

Talappanam, head money. Poll tax levied from certain classes of people.

Rakshabhogam, protection money. These payments are for protection generally without being limited to any specific aid.

Chavutam, association or companionship. Payment made for assigning a sentinel or guard for protection.

Kazhcha, offering, gift. A nuzzar paid annually and on special occasions by title-holders and others.

Adinja urukal, stranded vessels. Ship-wrecked vessels which have drifted ashore.

Cherikal, private domains or crown lands.

Natural freaks among cattle, wild elephants, ivory, horn, tiger's skin and claws, etc.

CHAPTER II.
COCHIN IN
1500.

Law and
Justice.

There was no written code of laws at this time: custom or *maryada* was the law recognised in the settlement of all disputes. This custom was based more or less on the Sastras, the Bible or the Koran, according as the parties concerned were Hindus, Christians or Muhammadans. The king was the fountain of justice, but in administering it, he was assisted by his Karyakars and, in the more important and obscure cases, by Brahman well versed in the Sastras. Svarupis and Prabhus administered justice similarly in their own districts and to the extent of the powers entrusted to them. Caste disputes were generally disposed of by Brahman judges, while civil disputes were adjudged by the chief men of the Desam. Minor offences were enquired into and punishment inflicted on the spot by local magistrates, who were generally Desavazhis. Grave crimes were tried by the king, Naduvazhis or superior Karyakars, assisted by Brahmin assessors. Torture was resorted to to induce suspected persons to confess the truth, and if in cases of persistent denial the complainants required it, they were subjected to trial by ordeal, of which there were several kinds, the fire ordeal, the water ordeal and the *dhata* (balance) ordeal being the most common. Capital punishment was awarded to persons convicted of heinous crimes such as sacrilege, murder, slaying or wounding a Brahman or cow, robbery and theft. For less heinous crimes, mutilation was a common form of punishment, but of all forms of punishment, fines were the commonest. Capital sentences were carried out by the sword or by impalement; hanging did not come into vogue until a later period. The law was however not the same for all classes, but varied according to the caste and status of the culprit. Brahman, for instance, were punished for grave crimes only by loss of caste and banishment, and women by being sold as slaves. If a Nayar killed a low caste man, he was only fined for the first offence. The administration of justice was free, no fee of any kind being levied from suitors. All contemporary accounts agree that crime, especially that of theft, was rare in those days, and that people enjoyed security of life and property to a remarkable extent.*

The army
and military
training.

The Nayars were the hereditary militia of the country, and practically they alone enjoyed the privilege of carrying arms. Such of the Brahman, Kshatriyas and Ambalavasis as cared to

* The subject is treated more fully in Chapter XIV, Administration of Justice, where the authorities on which the above account is based are also quoted.

take up arms as a profession could do so, but their number was small. In every Desam there was a *Kalari* or gymnasium maintained by hereditary instructors for the military training of the Nayar youths of the Desam. "At seven Years of Age they are put to School to learn the Use of their Weapons, where, to make them nimble and active, their Sinnewes and Joints are stretched by skilful Fellows, and annointed with the Oyle Sesamus : By this annointing they become so light and nimble that they will winde and turn their Bodies as if they had no Bones, casting them forward, backward, high and low, even to the Astonishment of the Beholders. Their continual Delight is in their Weapon."* The weapons in the use of which they aimed to acquire proficiency were the sword and shield, the bow and arrow, and the lance. The training of left-handed youths however was confined to bows and arrows. They underwent this training for a number of years and left the gymnasium only after their masters were satisfied with their skill and proficiency. Even after this, they attended the gymnasium for a fortnight or a month every year for the balance of their active lives. On leaving the institution, every young man appeared before the king or his Naduvazhi chief, presented the customary nuzzar and received his sword from him, whereupon he became a member of the protector guild and bound to fight and to die whenever called upon to do so by his chief. After this, he never left his home even for a short walk without his naked sword in his hand. The hereditary instructors bore the title of Panikar, Kurup or Kuruppal, † and were treated with great respect and consideration by their pupils throughout their lives. Whenever the master and pupil met, whether on the public road or elsewhere, the latter, lowering his shield, leaned it against his legs, put his sword under his arm and saluted in the fashion of the country by putting his palms together. ‡

As already stated, the arms of the Nayars were lances, swords and shields, and bows and arrows. All these except the

Arms and
Dress.

* Johnston's "*Relations of the most famous Kingdom in the World*" quoted in Logan's *Manual of Malabar*, p. 139.

† The military instructors of the royal family were Namburis of a particular family known as *Perattupuram* near Trichur. They also bore the title of Panikar.

‡ High class Native Christians also had the privilege of bearing arms, and fought side by side with the Nayars. They had their own Panikars or hereditary military instructors, but the Nayars and the Christians did not show any mutual exclusiveness in this matter. Nayan Panikars had Christian pupils and vice versa.

CHAPTER II. COCHIN IN 1500. --- swords were tastefully lacquered, and they glittered in the sun like looking glass. The shields were made of hide strengthened by hoops and nails of brass, while their holds were made of wood. The swords were of iron, not steel, and were made in different shapes, some curved and others straight and round, but all were generally short, and about one-third of their length from the handle was strengthened by an extra backing of iron. The hilts had no other guard than small pieces of elaborately moulded iron, which carried several little brass or copper rings that rattled in sword play. These guards hardly covered the fingers. Fire arms were unknown till the advent of the Portuguese, and even after their introduction by the latter, the indigenous weapons retained their popularity. The archers and lancemen had no other dress than the ordinary *mundu* or white cloth reaching from the naval to the knee, with a small piece, white or coloured, tied tightly round the waist over the *mundu*. But the swordsmen, who formed the vanguard, wore silk or velvet coats wadded with cotton, which reached to the elbow and the thigh, and caps similarly wadded, with flaps that covered the neck and nearly the whole face. All shaved their face clean, but grew their hair long, and tied it in a knot at the top or back of the head.

Methods of warfare.

With the Malayalis, war was a game governed by an elaborate set of rules, the violation of any one of which involved dishonour worse than death. All fighting was in the day time and in the open field, and it affected only those who were engaged in it. There were neither night attacks nor ambushes; no fruit tree was cut down in the enemy's country, nor devastation of any kind committed. The labourer in the field could go on with his work unmolested while a fierce struggle was going on in his immediate neighbourhood. The camps of the opposing parties were not far from each other, and both sides slept securely during night. At sunrise the men of both parties mingled together at the tank or the river where they bathed, and after putting on their clean dress and eating their rice, proceeded to the battle field, where they met, chewed their betel, and chatted and joked together till the fight was heralded by beat of drum by one or other of the parties. The opposing parties then drew apart and formed their ranks, but the fight would begin only after the other side also had beaten its drum. The armies fought in close columns, the vanguard being composed of swordsmen, who slowly advanced, stooping low, and with their shields touching each other and the ground. Behind them came

the archers and the men whose missiles were heavy clubs made of blackwood or circles of iron with sharp edges, and the rear was formed by lancemen with their spears and javelins. All were on foot, cavalry being unknown among the Nayars. The advance was very slow, each side seeking a vulnerable point in the ranks of the other, and sometimes a whole day was spent in a succession of advances and retreats. When once the ranks of either side broke, the fight became a *mêlée*, generally resulting in great slaughter. In the midst of this sanguinary conflict the drum sounded the cessation of hostilities on the approach of sunset, when the combatants at once lowered their weapons and ceased the fight. After this, the two sides again mingled and chatted together without the least sign of bad blood, coolly discussing the events of the day. Victory in war was never followed by the annexation of the territory of the vanquished king. The latter might be made tributary to the victor, or might even be deposed and another member of the same family installed in his place. But the integrity of his country as a separate principality was never interfered with. This highly artificial system seems to have been due partly to the humanising influence of the Brahmans, who introduced these rules to mitigate the ferocity of the non-Aryan races that came under their teaching, and partly to the fact that the Malayalis had for centuries to fight only their fellows in caste and religion, and not any foreign enemy to whom all was fair in war. The exigencies of the wars with the Portuguese rendered the observance of the rules impossible, and the system broke down early in the sixteenth century.

According to Portuguese writers, fidelity to their employers was the most prominent feature of the character of the Nayars, and taking advantage of it, the Portuguese employed them as *Changatams*, i. e., convoys and guards. It was the duty of a *Changatam* to defend with his life any person or property entrusted to him, and this duty the Nayars discharged faithfully and unflinchingly. * The killing of a *Changatam* or, for the matter of that, any Nayar, except in a regular battle or duel, involved the aggressors in a *Kudippaka* or blood feud with the relatives of the victim, which could be made up only after a bloody vengeance was taken. The death of a king or prince in

* If a Nayar neglected this duty or showed cowardice in a fight, he was degraded to the caste of *Kosavams* or potters. 'Kosavan' is still a term of reproach among them, but its significance is not now generally understood.

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COCHIN IN
1500.

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battle also occasioned a similar feud, such of his followers as survived the battle being bound to become *Chavars** (or men who devote themselves to death) and to take as formidable a vengeance as they could accomplish. They shaved off their hair even to their eye-brows as a sign of mourning, and after taking solemn leave of their relatives and friends, made their way to the enemy's country, attacking and killing as many of the enemies as they could, till in turn they were themselves killed off one by one sooner or later. †

Sham
fight.

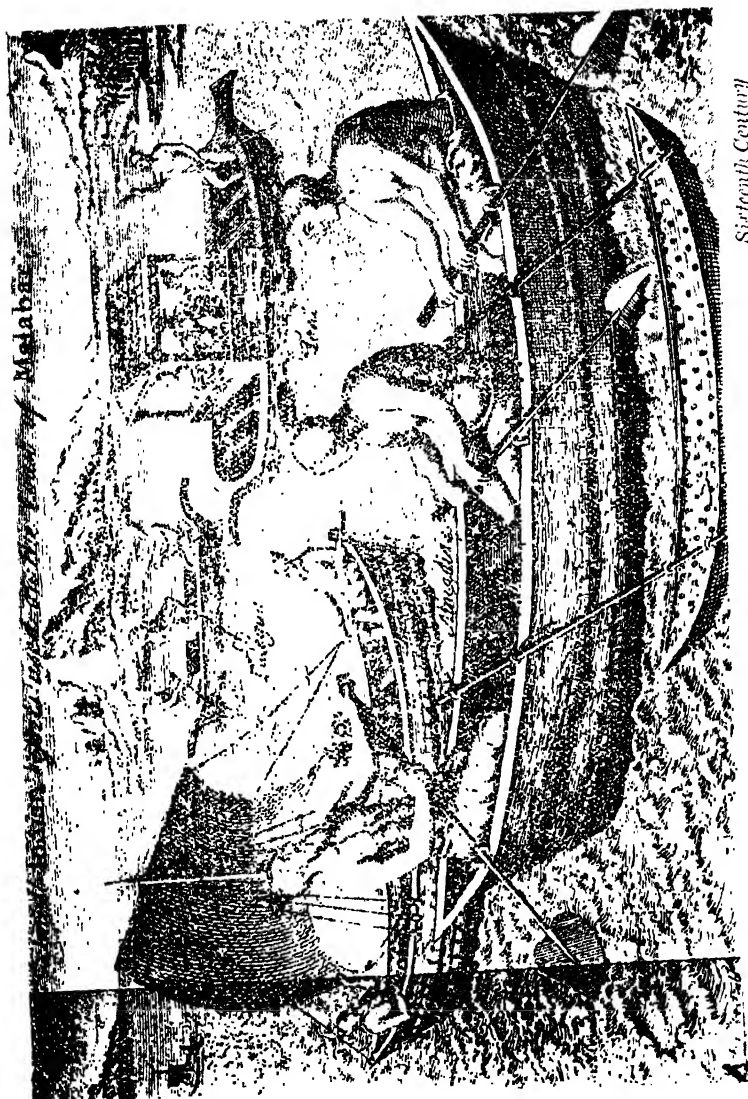
To keep up the military spirit of the Nayers, it was usual to hold fencing matches and sham combats in the years in which there were no wars. In these jousts or combats, several hundred men, sometimes a thousand, attacked an equal number, armed with sword and shield, and inflicted mutual wounds, more or less serious, and sometimes deaths also took place. These combats were generally held at the time of the *Onam* festival.

Trade and
occupation.

The cultivation of rice, pepper and cocoanut was the chief occupation of the people; most of the fruits and vegetables which are now familiar to us were also cultivated. The actual work in the field was done by aggrestal slaves, the Nayers supervising this work for their king, chiefs and nobles, who were the sole proprietors of the soil. Though Ibn Batuta found as far back as the fourteenth century that, "in all the space of two months' journey, there was not a space free from cultivation", Cochin did not, at the period under review, produce enough grain to support its population. Rice had to be imported from the Coromandal Coast and distributed throughout the country by Muhammadan traders under one Mahomed Marekkar, to whom the king had granted the monopoly of the import trade in rice. Cocoanut was also largely cultivated; cocoanut and cocoanut oil being among the chief articles of export. But the most important article of cultivation as well as of export was pepper. "Their country is that from which black pepper is brought; and this is the far greater part of their produce and culture. The pepper tree resembles that of the dark grape. They plant it near that of the cocoanut, and make frame work for it, just as they do for the grape tree. It has, however, no tendrils, and the tree itself resembles the leaves of

* Portuguese, *Amoucos*.

† The information contained in this and the three preceding paragraphs is taken mainly from Correa's *Lendas da India*, Vol. I. p. 354 et seq. (M. S. translation.)



Sixteenth Century

a bramble. When the autumn arrives, it is ripe; then they cut it, and spread it just as they do grapes, and thus it is dried by the sun". * It appears from Correa and other writers that Cochin produced about this time more pepper than most other Malabar States, but its cultivation is almost entirely neglected now. Among other articles of export, besides pepper and cocoanut, were areca, cardamom, ginger and jaggery. The chief emporium of trade was the port of Cochin, which "possesses a very fine large river where many and great ships enter, both Portuguese and Moorish. And within it is a very large city inhabited by Moors and Gentiles, who are Chettis and Guzaratyas and Jews, natives of the country. The Moors and Chettis are great merchants and own many ships, and trade much with Coromandal, Cambay, Cheul, and Dabul." †

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The rivers and back-waters of the State were the main channel of communication and trade. Several kinds of cargo, and passenger boats, made locally, were in use, of which a few are shown in the illustration. Roads were not in existence, but only foot paths, and consequently wheeled traffic was unknown. Even pack bullocks came into use but in comparatively recent times. "No one travels in these parts", wrote Ibn Batuta, "upon beasts of burden, nor is there any horse found except with the king, who is therefore the only person who rides. When, however, any merchant has to sell or buy goods, they are carried upon the backs of men, who are always ready to do so (for hire). Every one of these men has a long staff, which is shod with iron at its extremity and at the top has a hook. When, therefore, he is tired with his burden, he sets up his staff in the earth like a pillar and places the burden upon it; and when he has rested, he again takes up his burden without the assistance of another. With one merchant you will see one or two hundred of these carriers, the merchant himself walking. But when the nobles pass from place to place, they ride in a *dula* (palanquin) made of wood, something like a box, and which is carried upon the shoulders of slaves and hirelings." Avenue trees and water pandals were as much in evidence then as now. "The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees, and the distance of every half mile there is a house made of wood, in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of comers and goers, whether they be Moslems or infidels. To

Means of
communication.

* *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, by the Rev. Samuel Lee.

† *The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar* by Duarte Barbosa, p. 156.

CHAPTER II. each of these there is a well, out of which they drink ; and over
COCHIN IN each is an infidel appointed to give drink. To the infidels he
1500. supplies this in vessels ; to the Moslems he pours it in their
 hands. " *

THE ADVENT OF THE PORTUGUESE. † In July 1497, King Emmanuel of Portugal fitted out an expedition consisting of three vessels and 170 men, and despatched it under the command of Vasco Da Gama to try to discover an ocean route to India. The squadron doubled the Cape of Good Hope in November, and after a series of vicissitudes arrived off Calicut on the 20th May 1498. Da Gama was received graciously by the Zamorin, who looked forward to an increased customs revenue from the Portuguese trade. But the Arab merchants, who were very influential at Calicut and had the monopoly of the trade between the Malabar Coast and the west, soon perceived that the ocean route discovered by the Portuguese would imperil the commercial advantages that they had hitherto enjoyed. They accordingly exerted their great influence in the place to throw obstacles in the way of the Portuguese and create distrust in the minds of the Zamorin and his officers. Da Gama nevertheless obtained an audience of the Zamorin and permission to build a factory at Calicut, and departed on the 30th August with rich cargoes and a letter from the Zamorin to the King of Portugal proposing an interchange of commerce. Da Gama however did not sail without some serious misunderstanding with the Zamorin, and eventually carried off five natives of Calicut as captives in his vessel. On his way up the coast, he touched at Cannanore, where the king loaded him with gifts and signed a treaty of friendship written on gold leaf. Da Gama reached Lisbon on the 18th September 1499 with only two vessels and 55 men, the rest having perished during the expedition.

Cabral's expedition.

The return of Da Gama with a cargo which repaid sixty times the cost of the expedition fired the ambition of the Portuguese king and people, who lost no time in fitting out another

* Several subjects, such as marriage, inheritance, dwelling, dress, food, etc., have not been dealt with in this account as they have undergone no material changes during the last four centuries. Such changes as they have undergone will be referred to in Chapter III.

† The authorities relied on for the history of the Portuguese period, where no other authority is quoted are (1) *The Portuguese in India* by F. C. Danvers ; (2) *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India* by R. S. Whiteaway ; and (3) *The Keralapazhama*, a Malayalam work by Dr. Gundert. ‡

expedition. The new fleet was placed under the command of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, and consisted of thirteen vessels strongly armed with artillery, and carried 1,200 men. The expedition started on the 9th March 1500, and after discovering Brazil on the way out, reached Calicut on the 13th September. Cabral was well received by the Zamorin, and with his permission the Portuguese established a factory at Calicut for the purchase of spices. But the Moors did everything they could to prevent the Portuguese from obtaining spices, whereupon Cabral hastened the collection of cargo by seizing a Moorish vessel that was loading in the harbour. The Moors on shore thereupon became greatly excited and sacked the factory at Calicut, slaying the factor Ayres Correa and fifty-three of his men. Cabral retaliated by destroying ten Arab ships and bombarding the town for two days, after which he sailed down the coast to Cochin, burning two more Calicut vessels on his way.

Cabral arrived at the port of Cochin on the 24th December, and despatched on shore a native Christian named Michael Jogue, who had taken passage in one of the vessels to visit Rome and the Holy Land. Accompanied by a European, Michael waited on the king, Goda Varma or Unni Goda Varma Koil Tirumulpad,* in his palace situated near what is now known as the Calvetty bridge, and was received in a friendly manner. The king sent through him a message to Cabral that he might purchase spices for money or give merchandise in exchange for them as was most convenient to him, and also suggested that, with a view to avoid any misunderstanding and to create mutual confidence, it would be best for him to send Nayar hostages on board the fleet. This was accordingly done, though Cabral professed it to be unnecessary, the Nayars being exchanged for others every morning and evening. Cabral then visited the king, and after exchanging presents and compliments, an alliance of friendship was signed, the Portuguese promising him to add Calicut to his dominions at some future time. A factory was given to the Portuguese, in which Goncalo Gil Barbosa was placed as factor, with six others to assist him, and pepper and other articles were procured with such expedition that within a fortnight all the ships were full. Cabral was in every respect much pleased with the

* Most Portuguese writers give the king's name as Trimumpara, mistaking the title Tirumulpad for the actual name. Couto however gives the name correctly.

CHAPTER II. King of Cochin, who, although much less wealthy than the
 THE Zamorin and consequently not living in so much state, was
 ADVENT OF greatly superior to him in every other respect, being honest
 THE PORTU- in his dealings and intelligent and truthful in his conversation.
 GUESE. At Cochin, Cabral received deputations from the rulers of Can-
 --- nanore and Quilon, offering to supply pepper and spices at
 cheaper rates, but their offers were politely declined.

Cabral's de-
 parture.

Before Cabral's departure, the Raja entrusted to him a letter of friendship written on gold leaf to be delivered to the King of Portugal, and a rich collar of pearls and precious stones and a box full of rich white silk to be presented to the Queen. As Cabral was preparing to leave Cochin on the 10th January 1501, a Calicut fleet, carrying 1,500 men, was descried off the harbour, and was chased by Cabral. On the following day, the two fleets lay becalmed in sight of each other, but, on the wind freshening again, Cabral gave up the chase and sailed away. On his way he put in at Cannanore, and received on board an ambassador from the king of that country to the King of Portugal, together with presents and the offer of free trade with that port. He started on his voyage home on the 16th January, carrying with him (accidentally, as he asserted) the two Nayar hostages, and leaving behind him his factor and people without any attempt to provide for their safety.* Cabral returned to Lisbon with a rich freight, but he lost seven of his thirteen vessels in distant and tempestuous seas.

* The names of these hostages were Idukkela Menon and Parangoda Menon. The former seems to have returned to Cochin and been eventually employed by the Portuguese as their chief interpreter. There was a Nayar youth in the ship, who was also carried off with the hostages. He is said to have been related to the king: probably a near relation of his consort. His history, as told by Correa, is very interesting. Cabral presented the young man to the King of Portugal, dressed in the fashion of the Nayar warriors of the time. He had picked up some knowledge of Portuguese during the voyage and spoke to the king in that language. He was at first put up with Cabral, and under a good tutor he soon learned to read and write Portuguese remarkably well. He went to the palace frequently, as the king liked to see and talk to him. One Sunday when the king was hearing mass in the Hospital Church at Lisbon, the Nayar youth stood by him, and, when the service was over, told the king that he wanted to become a Christian. He was accordingly baptised at once by Bishop Calcaditha, and was named Manuel after the king, Vasco Da Gama and Cabral standing godfathers. A house was presented to him and a handsome pension settled upon him by the king, and he lived like a fidalgo. He used to correspond regularly with the King of Cochin in Malayalam about matters relating to the two countries. He died in Portugal, and was by the king's order honourably buried in the Cathedral of Evora, his wealth being divided between the churches and his servants as provided in his will. (*Lendas da India*, Tom I. Chapter XV. M. S. translation.)

Thus began the connection of Europeans with Cochin which has lasted for over four centuries. The king was naturally offended with Cabral for carrying off the hostages, but he took no reprisals against the defenceless Portuguese left in his power. On the other hand, he took every care of them, and lest their enemies the Moors might attempt to massacre them, he permitted them to sleep within the walls of the palace and provided them with a guard of Nayars to protect them whenever they went out. The Raja's conduct was probably not uninfluenced by the hope that with Portuguese assistance he could free himself from the irksome domination of the Zamorin: it was none the less worthy of all praise.

CHAPTER II.
THE
ADVENT OF
THE PORTUGUESE.

The Portuguese left in Cochin.

Before Cabral's return, the King of Portugal had sent forth in April 1501 another squadron of four vessels under Joao da Nova, who on his way out received information regarding the disposition of the Malayali Rajas towards the Portuguese. He proceeded first to Cannanore, where he was well received, and arranged to take in goods on his return from Cochin. On his way to Cochin, he encountered the Zamorin's fleet and sank five large vessels and nine paraos, and consequently he was received with great warmth on his arrival there. He was pleased with the account of the good treatment received by the Portuguese in Cochin, but found that by the machination of the Moors he could not get pepper in exchange for Portuguese merchandise. As he was not provided with ready money, he lost all hopes of providing lading for his vessels, but the king, when informed of this difficulty, at once became Da Nova's security for the required quantity of pepper and spices. After inflicting another defeat on the Zamorin's fleet and leaving his European merchandise for disposal in Cannanore, Da Nova sailed for Portugal.

Da Nova's expedition.

The information brought by Cabral decided the indignant King of Portugal to despatch a larger and better equipped expedition to wreak further vengeance on the Zamorin. Accordingly in February 1502 he sent forth a great fleet of twenty ships under Vasco Da Gama as Admiral of the Indian Seas, with instructions to leave five caravels under Vincent Sodre to guard the Malabar Coast. On arriving at Cannanore, Da Gama got the Kolattiri King to agree to the adoption of a fixed scale of prices in the Portuguese factory, and arranged for the issue of passes by the factor to ensure safe passage to all Cannanore merchants. He then proceeded to Calicut, where the Zamorin offered satisfaction for the outrage on Cabral's factory, but Da Gama refused to listen to any suggestions of peace until the

Da Gama's second expedition.

CHAPTER II. Moors were turned out of the country. On receiving a refusal
 THE
 ADVENT OF from the Zamorin, he repeatedly bombarded Calicut and almost
 THE PORTU- annihilated its Arab merchant fleet. On the 7th November he
 GUESE. arrived at Cochin, where the factor gave Da Gama a very satisfactory account of the proofs constantly afforded by the king of his friendliness towards the Portuguese, and the day after his arrival, the admiral went on shore and visited the king, who received him in great state and with warm cordiality. After an exchange of compliments, Da Gama handed to him a letter and presents* from the King of Portugal, which were received with great pleasure, after which the king's brother entered the room and saluted the Admiral with extreme friendliness.† All business matters were soon arranged, and an agreement concluded regarding the scale of prices and the issue of passports on the same terms as those secured in Cannanore. The Queen of Quilon now expressed a desire to establish trade relations with the Portuguese, and a similar agreement was accordingly concluded with her on the half-hearted recommendation of her friend the Raja of Cochin. After this, Vasco Da Gama set sail on the homeward voyage, and on the way encountered another Calicut fleet, which he completely destroyed. He reached Portugal on the 1st September 1503, where honours and rewards were showered on him by the king. The object of Da Gama's second expedition was to secure a permanent foot-hold on the Indian coast for armed commerce, and this task he thoroughly accomplished. He established close commercial relations at four

*The presents were a goblet with a pedestal and covered with a lid which contained 2,000 cruzados, a piece of rich brocade, 24 pieces of velvets, satins and coloured damasks, and a chair covered with brocade and studded with silver nails, with cushions to match. After the conclusion of the agreement, Da Gama further presented to the king a crown of gold and a silver gilt basin ewer, and to the Prince, an enamelled collar ornamented with jewels in the form of a chain, and a round tent with double linings of coloured satin. The Raja's return presents were "two gold bracelets set with precious stones, a sash or turban used by the Moors of cloth of silver, two great pieces of Bengal cotton cloth, and a stone as large as a walnut taken from the head of an animal called bulgoldolf, which is exceedingly rare and is said to be an antidote against all kinds of poison". The last seems to be *gorochana* (*Torenia cordifolia*).

† "The prince then entered, who came from without to see the Captain-Major. When he entered with his sword and buckler, he placed himself before the king, with his feet close together, and laid down his buckler against his legs, and put his sword under his arm, and joined his hands together, raising them above his head, and lowered them closed together to his breast. When he entered, the Captain-Major remained all the time standing until the prince had finished his salutations to the king; then he turned towards the Captain-Major, who saluted him with his knee on the ground. The prince took his right hand between his, as the king had done, and spoke to him words of friendship". (*The Three Voyages of Vasco Da Gama*, by the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley, p. 342.)

of the Malabar ports and left behind batteries at two of them, together with a squadron under Vincente Sodre as Captain-Major of the Indian Seas.*

CHAPTER II.
THE
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
ZAMORIN.

—
Invasion of
Cochin.

The Zamorin and the Arab merchants were burning to avenge the tortures and outrages Da Gama had inflicted, and the Zamorin was also jealous of the growing importance and prosperity of Cochin brought on by the Portuguese alliance. The departure of Da Gama was therefore the signal for the outbreak of hostilities between the Zamorin and Cochin. The former demanded the surrender of the Portuguese factors left under the protection of the Raja of Cochin, but the latter absolutely refused to comply with the demand. There were several among the Cochin princes and chiefs who liked the cruel and rapacious foreigners as little as the threatened war with the Zamorin, and they also endeavoured to persuade the king to deliver up the Portuguese, but the king scouted their advice, preferring to submit to the anticipated evils of an invasion rather than to commit such a breach of faith. The Zamorin therefore collected a large army at Ponnani and was joined by the Cochin malcontents. At the head of a force of 50,000 men he marched towards Idappilli † whose chief was his consistent ally, and entered Cochin territory on the 31st March 1503. At this time, Vincente Sodre arrived at Cochin with his coasting squadron, and was strongly urged by the Raja and the factors to remain and afford assistance against the threatened invasion, but he turned a deaf ear to all arguments and entreaties and sailed for the Red Sea, urging that his orders were to cruise and to intercept the Arabian ships trading with India. The Portuguese who were in Cochin offered thereupon to retire to Cannanore in order to relieve Cochin from the impending danger, but this the king would not hear of.

* Da Gama's successes were, however, stained by cruelties never to be forgotten. On capturing the Calicut fleet, he cut off the hands, ears and noses of the crew, eight hundred men, and sent them heaped up with dry leaves to the Raja to make a curry of. The teeth of the prisoners were beaten down their throats with staves. A Brahman messenger was compelled to confess himself a spy under the torture of live coals. His lips and ears were cut off, the ears of an unclean animal—a dog—were sewn to his head; and the mutilated wretch was returned to the Zamorin. Da Gama's flag-captain, Vincente Sodre, revenged some insulting words, real or imaginary, of which the Cannanore Raja complained, by flogging the chief Arab merchant of the place till he fainted, filling his mouth with dirt and tying over it a piece of bacon". (*A History of British India*, by Sir W. W. Hunter, Vol. I, p. 109).

† The "Repolim" of Portuguese and Dutch writers.

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THE
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
ZAMORIN.Defect of the
Cochin army.

In the meantime, the king raised what troops he could, and despatched an army of 5,500 men* under the command of his brother † to guard the ford to Pallurutti, through which it was reported that the Zamorin would advance. This brother was the prince whom Vasco Da Gama saw with the king and who "was considered the bravest and most fortunate warrior in Malabar". ‡ On the 2nd April the Zamorin made an attempt to force a passage by the ford, but in spite of his immense superiority in numbers, he was forced to retire with considerable loss. The next day a larger force led by the Raja of Idappilli made the attempt, but with no better success. Having been repulsed with great loss in these and several subsequent attempts to force the passage, the Zamorin contrived to gain over to his interest, by means of large bribes, the paymaster of the Cochin army, who by neglecting to make regular payments to the troops not only obliged these to come up to Cochin, but kept them waiting there to receive their rations. Taking advantage of the absence of so many men, the Zamorin made an assault with all his force by land and water, and forced the prince to retire to a grove of palm trees in Arur, where he was surrounded by the whole army of Calicut. At the head of his small band, the prince fought desperately the whole day against terrible odds, repeatedly throwing his enemies into disorder with great slaughter, till at length, overpowered by numbers, he, his brother and a nephew were slain, together with most of his faithful followers, among whom were several scions of the noblest families of Cochin. Only 200 men escaped from this disastrous battle. §

* This was the strength of the Cochin army according to most Portuguese writers, but Correa makes it much larger. According to the latter, 15,000 men were slain in this fight with the Zamorin.

† The name of the Prince was Naramuhin according to Portuguese writers, and most English writers have identified it as Narayanan. Naramuhin is hopelessly unlike any Malayalam name, and Narayanan is a name which is never borne by any Malabar Kshatriya. King Goda Varma and this Prince, his brother, belonged to the Elaya Tavazhi branch of the royal family, while the second and third Rajas, the next two in succession, belonged to the Mutta Tavazhi branch. The two latter deserted the king and joined the Zamorin, and the command therefore devolved on the prince who was the *Nalamunra* or fourth Raja. Naramuhin is probably a distorted form of Nakummura. Or it may stand, as suggested by some, for *Maramahan* (nephew), a not uncommon pet name among the princes of Malabar.

‡ Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II, p. 536. See also p. 538 for a description of the fight.

§ "As these 200 survived their master, they shaved off their hair, even to their eye-brows, and devoted themselves to death. They made their way to the Zamorin's territory, where they slaughtered all they met: thirteen survived to reach the neighbourhood of Calicut, killing as the chance offered. In turn they were killed off one by one, until in five years the last was destroyed." (Whiteway, pp. 95-6.)

The death of the gallant princes and the annihilation of the army created universal consternation, and many clamoured for the lives of the foreigners who were the cause of the country's disaster. But bravely and with rare good faith, the king held out against such clamour, collected all the forces which were still available, and engaged the enemy in a pitched battle. His small army however was soon overpowered, whereupon the king retired, with his few remaining troops, his family and the Portuguese under his protection, to the sanctuary of Vaipin.* It was considered sacrilegious even to shed blood in this part of the island, much more to turn it into a battle field, and such a sanctuary the Zamorin dared not violate. † Here the king and the Portuguese were perfectly safe, but the whole country was left in the hands of the Zamorin, who, enraged by his repeated failure to get the Portuguese into his power, ordered the town of Cochin to be burnt, and went to blockade the island of Vaipin. On the setting in of the monsoon, however, he raised the blockade and returned to Cochin, which he fortified with a ditch and rampart, and leaving a strong force there, he departed for Calicut, intending to renew the blockade after the *Onam* festival in August.

CHAPTER II.
THE
STRUGGLE
WITH THE
ZAMORIN.

Retreat to
Vaipin.

In the meantime, Francisco D'Albuquerque arrived at Cannanore with a small fleet, and on learning there the critical position of affairs in Cochin, he pushed on and arrived at the place on the 2nd September 1503, and was soon afterwards joined at Vaipin by another vessel under Duarte Pacheco. These reinforcements were received by the beleaguered in Vaipin with every demonstration of joy, while the Calicut garrison in Cochin was struck with terror and immediately left the city. Francisco cordially thanked Goda Varma in the name of his king for his fidelity, presented him with 10,000 ducats and conducted him triumphantly to Cochin, where he was re-established in the possession of his kingdom. Albuquerque was occupied for the next few weeks in attacking Idappilli and other places whose chiefs or inhabitants had revolted against their king and joined the Zamorin, and in this work, he was joined by his cousin Alfonso D'Albuquerque, who arrived with his

Rescued by
reinforce-
ments from
Portugal.

* Among the Portuguese in Cochin at this time there were two Italian lapidaries, who deserted the Portuguese and joined the Zamorin while this retreat to Vaipin was being made. They rendered immense service to the Zamorin by making cannon and other fire arms for him.

† This must be the six *desams* (villages) constituting the *Sanketam* or sanctuary of the Elankunnapuzha temple.

CHAPTER II. THE STRUGGLE WITH THE ZAMORIN. fleet a few days later. Falling unexpectedly in their midst, the Portuguese slaughtered the inhabitants in large numbers, and burnt towns and villages after plundering them. As the Raja of Idappilli was the bitterest of the enemies of Cochin, he was made to suffer more heavily than any other. His territory consisted of small isolated tracts scattered over a larger area, and most of these tracts were successively attacked, plundered and burnt.

Portuguese
fort in Co-
chin.

The king's authority having been thus vindicated, D'Albuquerque took advantage of the high favour which he enjoyed with the Raja to request permission to erect a fort at Cochin for the protection of the Portuguese factory. The latter not only granted permission with great readiness but also offered to undertake the work at his own expense. A convenient spot was forthwith selected close to the edge of the river and commanding a narrow arm of the sea, the foundation was laid on the 27th September 1503, and the work was speedily brought to a completion. The king supplied all the materials necessary for the work and also sent a number of workmen to carry it out, and all the Portuguese also laboured, without distinction, to expedite its completion. The fort was constructed of large palisades filled in with earth, in the shape of a square, with flanking bastions at the corners, mounted with ordnance. The walls were made of double rows of cocoanut trees firmly fixed into the ground and bound together by iron hoops and large nails, with earth rammed firmly between, and the whole was surrounded by a wet ditch. This primitive fort was christened *Manuel-kotta* or Fort Manuel after the reigning King of Portugal, and was opened with all due ceremony. The king often went to see the progress of the work and was present at the opening ceremony, and manifested great interest in all the ceremonies he witnessed. Thus was the first European fortress constructed in India.

The Zamorin
again invades
Cochin.

The two Albuquerque sailed from India in 1504, leaving Duarte Pacheco with about 150 Portuguese and 300 native soldiers * and some vessels to defend Cochin. The Zamorin now resolved again to try his strength with the Portuguese and to reduce Cochin to subjection. With this object, he formed a

* The practice of strengthening small bodies of Europeans with disciplined native troops under European command as well as of securing the position of Europeans in India by supporting one rival Raja against another began at this early period, and did not originate with Dupliex, as is suggested by some historians. The Indian troops of Pacheco, D'Albuquerque and other early Portuguese captains consisted partly of Nayers and partly of native Christians, and their colour was made no bar to their rising to high command in the army. Antonio Fernandez Chale, for example, a native Christian of Cochin, held important command under Portuguese Generals, and was raised to the dignity of a Knight of the Military Order of Christ. Slain in action in 1571, he received a State funeral at Goa. (*A History of British India*, by Sir W.W. Hunter, Vol. I. p. 163).

combination of a large number of Malabar Rajas and chiefs, * collected a fleet consisting of 280 paraos and other vessels, with a crew of 4,000 men, mostly Muhammadans, and a force consisting of 60,000 men under the command of the Elankur Nambiyatiri, the Zamorin's heir, and the Raja of Idappilli. † He had also five big guns which had been constructed for him by the Italian deserters. At the head of this large force, the Zamorin advanced through the territories of friendly chiefs towards Kumbalam, near which there was a practicable ford to the island of Cochin. His plan was to cross the back-water ferry, with the help of his fleet of boats, from Kumbalam to Pallurutti, and advancing towards the north, to attack and capture the fort just erected by the Portuguese, and use it against them and prevent them from landing again in Cochin. This plan was however completely frustrated by the courage, energy and resourcefulness of the Portuguese captain.

Duarte Pacheco's defence of Cochin against the whole power of the Zamorin and his confederates was, even after making every allowance for the obvious exaggerations in the Portuguese accounts, one of the most brilliant feats of arms achieved by Europeans in India. With a small force of 150 European and 300 native soldiers, assisted by detachments of Cochin Nayars sent by the Raja, ‡ he kept at bay the flower of

Pacheco's
defence of
of Cochin.

* Among these were the Rajas of Kottayam, Vettatnad (Tanur), Parapanad, Beypore, Ayirur, Cranganur, Idappilli and Mangad (Alangad), and the Nambidis of Punnamattur, Kakkad, and Venganad.

† Most writers give the name of the Idappilli Raja as Elankol, which is a mistake. Elangallur (*Scarupam*) is the name of the Idappilli Raja's family and not that of an individual.

‡ In the previous year the Cochin army, unassisted by the Portuguese, gallantly repulsed the repeated attacks of an enemy ten times stronger, and finally gave in only when overwhelmed by numbers and treachery, while in this year, it is said, a similar army, though having by its side a gallant band of Portuguese warriors and their heavy artillery, fled away on the approach of the Zamorin's army! Both these accounts rest solely on the authority of Portuguese writers. Indian troops, when they are opposed to Europeans, are generally represented as fighting bravely and resolutely, and, when fighting by their side, as behaving in a cowardly manner. This weakness however is not confined to Portuguese writers. The only references to this fight that I have come across from other than Portuguese sources do not exactly bear out their account. The Muhammadan historian Nawab Muhabbat Khan refers to this campaign thus:—"The heirs of those who were slain (*i. e.*, in the previous year) again collected their forces, raised the standard of sovereignty, and restored the population of the country to its former state". (Sir H. Elliot's *History of India by its own historians*). In a letter written by the Raja to the King of Portugal ten years later, in recounting the mutual services rendered by him and the Portuguese, he says:—"The next year (*i. e.*, 1504) the King of Calicut came again upon me to take my land, and I, with my friends and my people and your help, defeated him, and he went back to his country dishonoured and discomfited, without hope of coming upon me again". (Biker's *Collection of Treaties*, Vol. I, p. 10; M. S. translation by the Rev. Father Monteiro d' Aguiar).

CHAPTER II. the Zamorin's army for nearly four months. Apart, however, THE from the great superiority of European soldiers in discipline, STRUGGLE courage and endurance, Pacheco had certain advantages which WITH THE rendered his achievement possible. In efficiency of arms his ZAMORIN. advantage was almost incalculable, especially when opposing the advance of an army that always fought in close serried ranks. This mode of fighting, which was then customary with the Nayars, was, when opposed to an enemy armed with matchlocks and field pieces, foredoomed to failure with great slaughter. The cannons made for the Zamorin by the Italian lapidaries could only project stones as hard as a man could throw them, and were therefore far from being a match for the Portuguese artillery. Pacheco had also the advantage of information. The Namburi spies of those days were such perfect masters of their trade that each camp knew exactly what its opponents were doing. This enabled Pacheco, while keeping his own counsel, to learn what the Zamorin was planning, and he could also change his plans according to circumstances, while it was a point of honour with the Zamorin never to change the direction of his march when once it had been definitely fixed. Pacheco was thus able, among other things, to erect a stockade in mid-channel, running the whole length of the ford, just before the time appointed by the Zamorin for making the first attempt to cross it.

Defeat of
the Zamorin's army.

The first attempt to force the passage to Pallurutti was made on the 31st March 1504, but the enemy was driven back with great loss, the Portuguese artillery deciding the day's contest. The attempt was repeated on the 5th April and again on the 10th, but on both occasions the enemy was repulsed by Pacheco's daring little band. Many similar attempts were made with equal ill-success during the next three months*, of which the most serious were that in which the Zamorin attempted to cross the Pallurutti and Panangad fords simultaneously, which compelled Pacheco to put his resources to the greatest test, as he had to divide his small force, and the one in the end of June, in which were used certain lofty castles, each

* A curious incident in connection with one of these attempts. A partial crossing was once effected by 2,000 of the Zamorin's Nayars by a seldom used and unguarded ford. A band of Cherumars (agrestic slaves) were there busy working in the fields, and on seeing the Nayars, they plucked up courage and attacked them with the implements of their husbandry. The Nayars, confounded at this unheard-of action of the Cherumars, fled precipitately, leaving a large number dead on the field. Pacheco expressed great admiration for the Cherumars' courage, and wished to raise them to the rank of Nayars. He was astonished and disgusted when told that this could not be done.

on two boats, the invention of one Khwaja Ali of Idappilli, to command the caravels and the stockade. Some of these castles were caught on the booms prepared by Pacheco and burned, while the rest were knocked to pieces by the guns. On the advice of the Italians and contrary to the genius of the Nayars, a night attack was planned with disastrous results: the Zamorin's Nayars attacked each other furiously in the darkness, and many were killed before the mistake was discovered. A severe out-break of cholera in the camp, which carried off 13,000 men, crowned the Zamorin's disasters, and he at last gave up the attempt in despair and returned to Calicut, thus terminating a war that had lasted for five months, during which he is said to have lost 19,000 men in battle and 13,000 by cholera. Pacheco returned to Cochin in triumph, where the Raja received him with open arms and congratulated him on his brilliant achievement.

Soon after the Zamorin's defeat, Lopo Soarez arrived from Portugal with the fleet of the year, with valuable presents from the King of Portugal as a token of his appreciation of the Raja's steadfastness to his allies during the early part of 1503. The Zamorin in the meantime did not take his defeat as final, and was collecting at Cranganur the material for an extensive campaign against Cochin, directly the Portuguese fleet left the coast. The Raja of Cranganur* was at this time under the Zamorin, who had a palace there and had fortified the place. The King of Cochin having complained of certain damage he had received from Cranganur, Lopo Soarez went up the river with twenty vessels and defeated an army commanded by the Elankur Nambiyatiri. He also burnt the town and looted the houses and shops of the Jews and Muhammadans, but spared those of the Christians. After leaving Manoal Tellez Barreto with four ships for the protection of Cochin, Lopo Soarez left for Portugal, taking Pacheco with him. The king parted from Pacheco with sincere regret, and offered him many handsome presents. But the latter declined them as superfluous, but consented to carry a letter from him to the King of Portugal,

Sack of
Cranganur.

* The origin of the Cranganur family is not known. All Malabar chiefs claim their descent from Cheraman Perumal or some one or other of his relatives and friends. The Cranganur Chief claims it from one of his Kshatriya captains. It is probable that this captain was one of those who accompanied Rajendra Chola II, when he captured Tiruvanchikulam early in the 11th century. The Cranganur Rajas have always been intimately connected with the Zamorin's family. They and they alone perform the *tali* marriage in that family, and in all ceremonies act the part of the father in it.

CHAPTER II. commending him to his sovereign's favour and commenting on
 THE his conduct in terms of high praise. *

THE
 STRUGGLE
 WITH THE
 ZAMORIN.

Results of
 the war.

The chief result of the war was the great diminution of the power and prestige of the Zamorin and the considerable increase in the influence and importance of Cochin. The Zamorin regained some of his lost power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but never attained that commanding position among the Malabar chiefs which he enjoyed before the advent of the Portuguese. A large number of Moors, finding their trade at Calicut completely destroyed, prepared to return to Arabia and Egypt, but the large fleet, which was assembled at Pantalayini Kollam to take them, was completely destroyed by Lopo Soarez on his way home, capturing seventeen vessels and slaying 2,000 men. This was a crushing blow to them as well as to the Zamorin, who had hitherto relied on their assistance for maintaining his preëminence on the coast. Several of the Moors went over to Cochin and settled there, and by their means the importance of the place was greatly enhanced. Most of the Cochin malcontents who went to the Zamorin made their submission to the king, and many of the Zamorin's allies and feudatories, alarmed for themselves and for their States, hastened to make terms with the Portuguese and their ally. In short, the King of Cochin felt himself in a position to assure King Emmanuel complacently that the Zamorin's people were saying that "they could not live in Calicut without being Your Majesty's friends and mine. For this reason many have come to live in my lands, as they know that Your Majesty is my friend and would help me whenever necessary. All my enemies both on land and sea now obey me, seeing that they cannot live in any other way."

PORTU-
 GUESE SU-
 PREMACY.

Abdication of
 Goda Varma
 and corona-
 tion of Rama
 Varma.

The Portuguese interests in the east had now reached such a stage that it was found necessary to have a Viceroy stationed in India to look after those interests. Don Francisco D'Almeida was accordingly appointed the first Portuguese Viceroy of all the Indies for a term of three years, and after laying the foundation of a fort of stone and lime at Cannanore on his way, he arrived at Cochin in November 1505. He came with instructions from the King of Portugal to crown Goda

* On his return, the King of Portugal paid the highest honours to Pacheco in recognition of his valour, but he was subsequently imprisoned on charges which were afterwards proved to have been false, and although he was thereupon released and restored to his dignity, he was allowed to end his days in obscure poverty.

Varma with a crown of gold set with jewels in recognition of his gallantry in defending the Portuguese against their enemies, but the aged king, wearied by years of toil and turmoil, had abdicated soon after Pacheco's departure and become a religious recluse. As the two senior princes, who were next in succession, were still with the Zamorin, he had appointed as regent his direct surviving nephew Ummirama Koil Tirumulpad, *alias* Rama Varma. Almeida transferred to him the honour intended for his uncle, and with great pomp and ceremony placed the crown on his head. He also arranged for an annual payment of 500 crusados to the king partly as the assessment on the land given over to the Portuguese for constructing the Cochin fort and partly to celebrate the anniversary of the death of the three princes who died in their defence.

These friendly acts of Almeida greatly pleased the princes and people of Cochin, and when the Viceroy requested permission to extend and strengthen the fort, it was accorded with popular acclamation. A larger fort was accordingly built of mud and stone with bastions on all sides mounted with ordnance and with sufficient space for locating the Government house and the arsenal. Almeida also established his principal residence at Cochin, and thus constituted it for the time the seat of Portuguese Government in India. The Portuguese had by this time begun to settle down in the place, but they did not find it altogether comfortable. Though some articles of food, such as rice, fowls and fish could be had cheap, others, such as wheat and beef, which were almost necessities of life to them, could not be obtained at all. The wheat that came to Cochin was grown in the north in the country of their enemies the Muhammadans, and was seldom tasted except by those who were privileged to dine at the Viceroy's table. None however could have beef, as the Portuguese agreed to and respected the prohibition to kill cows. They had ordinarily to be contented with a diet of rice and banana.

During the four years of his viceroyalty, Almeida and his gallant son Lourenco took vengeance for the destruction of the Portuguese and their factory at Quilon, defeated the Kolattiri, who, assisted by the Zamorin, besieged the Cannanore fort, overthrew the remaining power of the Arabs at the Malabar ports, defeated another great effort of the Zamorin at sea with the destruction of 84 ships and 120 galleys and the slaughter of 3,000 Mussalmans, and completely destroyed the combined fleet of the northern and southern Muhammadan sea powers. In December 1509 Alfonso D' Albuquerque arrived in Cannanore with secret orders from his king appointing him Viceroy on the

CHAPTER II.
PORTUGUESE SUPREMACY.

Cochin made the seat of Government.

Arrival of Alfonso D' Albuquerque.

CHAPTER II. expiry of Almeida's three years of office. But the latter refused to give up his office, eventually threw Albuquerque into prison, and threatened to send him in chains to Lisbon. The King of Cochin sided with Albuquerque, notwithstanding the various misrepresentations made against him by Almeida, and even refused to supply lading for two homeward bound vessels until he should be installed as Viceroy. These stormy proceedings were however put an end to by the arrival of the Marshal of Portugal, Dom Fernao de Coutinho, and in November 1509, Almeida surrendered the supreme command to Albuquerque, but on his voyage home he was killed at Saldanha Bay by the assaigais of a Kaffir mob.

Disputed
succession in
Cochin.

In 1510, Goda Varma, the early friend of the Portuguese, who had become a religious recluse, died. According to the custom of the country, the regent Rama Varma should now become a religious recluse and make room for the prince next in succession to Goda Varma. As this prince of the Mutta Tavazhi branch was a partisan of the Zamorin, the Portuguese in Cochin objected to the arrangement and insisted upon Rama Varma being installed as king. The latter was extremely reluctant to violate the custom of his ancestors, and the Brahmans clamoured against such violation, while the Mutta Tavazhi princes arrived at Vaipin with their partisans and retainers and a detachment of the Zamorin's Nayars to enforce their claim. At this juncture, Nuno, who was left in command at Cochin, sent an urgent message to Albuquerque, who was then at Cannanore, to return thither. Albuquerque on his arrival carried matters with a high hand, routed the pretender's army, laughed to scorn the regent's scruples and the Brahmans' clamour, and assured them that the mighty arm of the Portuguese King, not the Brahmans' advice, was thenceforward to guide the fortunes of Cochin. It was, however, with much reluctance and a heavy heart that the regent was prevailed upon to break through the custom of his ancestors, and it was only when a number of his chiefs, presenting themselves before him, tendered fealty and advised that Albuquerque's counsel should be followed that he consented to do so. After this, the succession to the throne was confined to the Elaya Tavazhi branch for nearly a century and a half, the Portuguese refusing to recognise the right of any other branch to succeed.*

* Some time after this—the exact date is not known—the eldest member of all the other branches taken together, if senior to the reigning prince of the Elaya Tavazhi branch, was allowed to assume the title of *Muppu* (or chief) of Perumpadappu, the reigning prince being known as the Maharaja of Cochin. The chief was treated as an important personage and exercised some authority in social and religious matters.

One of Marshal Coutinho's instructions was to destroy Calicut before he returned to Lisbon, and he and Albuquerque accordingly set sail for Calicut on the last day of 1509. The King of Cochin had in the meantime directed some of his northern and eastern vassals to commence hostilities against the Zamorin on the frontier with a view to draw off his armies from Calicut. When therefore the Marshal and the Viceroy reached the place, the Zamorin with his army was absent from Calicut. They attacked and captured the palace and, after plundering it, set the palace and the town on fire, but the Nayar guards, who had at first fled panic-stricken, soon rallied, and reinforced by other Nayars, fell furiously upon the Portuguese and drove them back to their ships with great slaughter. In this fight, the Marshal was slain and Albuquerque seriously wounded, but the Zamorin also suffered great damage. After this disaster, both parties became anxious to arrive at a good understanding, but the several attempts made during the next three years to negotiate a treaty proved abortive, partly through the Zamorin's refusal to grant the exact site selected by the Portuguese for a fortress and partly through the intrigues of the Cochin and Kolattiri Rajas, who were naturally averse to a good understanding between the Zamorin and the Portuguese. At last, Albuquerque determined to call in the aid of the Zamorin's brother, who was understood to be devoted to the Portuguese and prepared to accede to their terms. He therefore wrote to the prince suggesting that he should cause his brother to be poisoned, and promising as the reward for such service that he himself should succeed him on the throne of Calicut. The prince readily assented to the proposals and carried them out, and having by these means raised himself to the throne, he entered into a treaty with the Portuguese in 1513 and granted the site required by them for a fortress. A fortress was accordingly built there of the same size as the one at Cochin. The Raja of Cochin strongly remonstrated with Albuquerque against this treaty, but without success, and afterwards wrote a long letter of remonstrance to the King of Portugal. The latter however was satisfied by the reasons

CHAPTER II.
PORTUGUESE
SU-
PREMACY.
Albuquerque
and the Zamorin.

* In a letter to the King of Portugal, Albuquerque complacently speaks of the poisoned Zamorin as "that treacherous coward"!

CHAPTER II. urged by Albuquerque for cultivating friendly relations with
 PORTU- the Zamorin. *
 GUESE SC.
 PREMACY.

Goa.

Another cause of dissatisfaction to the King of Cochin was the practical transfer by Albuquerque of the head quarters of the Portuguese Government in India from Cochin to Goa. Albuquerque captured Goa early in 1510 during the absence of its chief Adil Khan from the place, but was compelled to evacuate it on the latter's return. A second expedition in November of the same year was more successful, and Goa fell permanently into the hands of the Portuguese. With a view to relieve the heavy drain of men on his small country, Albuquerque desired to found a Portuguese colony in India, and to this end he encouraged the crews of the annual fleets to settle on the coast and marry native women. Goa, with its deep-water harbour which afforded shelter to the largest vessels against the monsoon gales, appeared to be the best place for such a colony, and Albuquerque accordingly set about strengthening its defences and founding churches, hospitals and other institutions in the place. Goa therefore practically supplanted Cochin as the seat of Government, though it was not officially recognised as such till 1530. There were several Portuguese officers in India who were opposed to this measure, as indeed to all the important measures of Albuquerque. The Raja of Cochin, who was naturally annoyed at the growth of Goa, as he considered that the Portuguese ships there spent money which should have been spent in Cochin, joined this faction of malcontents in urging the King of Portugal to abandon Goa. The king directed that the question should be considered in a council of fidalgos and that Goa should be abandoned if the council considered its retention unnecessary.

* The placing of the ports of Cochin and Calicut on a footing of equality by the Portuguese meant loss of revenue and prestige to the Raja : hence his strong opposition to the treaty with the Zamorin. Another cause of opposition was that the blood feud with the Zamorin consequent upon the slaughter of three Cochin princes in the campaign of 1503 had not yet been terminated, and still remained to be washed out in blood. Unless the Portuguese continued hostile to the Zamorin, the Raja knew that he had no chance of terminating it. In the letter above referred to, he says:—"Your Majesty has concluded a treaty with this king (the Zamorin) without in any way consulting me. *I will have no peace with him, but will always wage war with him.* I thought that Your Majesty was aggrieved at the death of my uncles and that you would assist me in avenging it. This peace has only been concluded to insult me, and Your Majesty should not have exchanged my friendship for that of Calicut."

or inexpedient. The council however voted in accordance with Albuquerque's wishes, as his arguments were overwhelming. * CHAPTER II.
PORTU-
GUESE SU-
PREMACY.
Goa, which was accordingly retained, grew rapidly in importance and threw Cochin into the shade.

Notwithstanding these few causes of friction, Albuquerque was greatly beloved and respected by the princes and people of Cochin for his genial affability, his splendid achievements and his justice and honesty. When, therefore, the King of Portugal, listening to slanderers' tales, decreed his supercession in September 1515, and he died of a broken heart at Goa on the 17th December, his fate was sincerely mourned by all classes in Cochin. One of his enterprises in Cochin before his supercession was the attempt, made at the instance of the King of Portugal, to convert King Rama Varma to Christianity. He well knew the attempt to be not only hopeless but also useless to the Portuguese politically, for if the king became a Christian, he would lose his authority in the State. Nevertheless, he made the attempt to please his master, and affected to be quite satisfied with the Raja's remark that such an important matter required serious and prolonged consideration. †

Albuquerque's immediate successors, Lopo Soares, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira and Dom Duarte de Menezes (1515 to 1524) had neither his ability nor his honesty nor his affability, and during their administration the honour of the Portuguese name sank considerably. The officers from the Viceroy downwards

Albuquerque's immediate successors.

* Albuquerque deals with this question in a letter to a friend. "I thought" he says, "that the king had Goa like a stone set in a ring. I took it at his order, and his captains signed the agreement. I took it and strengthened myself in it, considered it my companion and helper. I leaned my back against it and trusted it freely. By it we got a foothold in India, and destroyed the dockyard of the Moors. Now, no one can order us not to touch the Moor, nor can the Raja of Cochin demand the life of a Portuguese for that of a cow. It is the chief port of India for the Deccan, for Vijayanagar and for Europe. In Cochin you cannot get supplies for 500 men: there is neither fish nor flesh, and fowls there are six pence each. In Goa 2,000 men extra are hardly noticed. In a foreign country you cannot cut a stick without permission, and in the bazaar, if you do not pay what you owe, or if you touch a Moor woman, or wound a man of the country, swords are drawn at once and the fortress is besieged."

† The only instance of the conversion of a Malabar chief during the Portuguese period seems to have been that of the Raja of Tanur or Vettat, who was converted with his wife and children in 1548 by a Jesuit preacher named Antonio Gomez. The Raja, it is said, wanted to see the offices of the church performed with due solemnity and to be confirmed by the bishop. Accordingly, he went to Goa, where he was received with great pomp, and from whence he departed greatly satisfied, promising to compel his subjects to follow his example. Nothing however is known of his subsequent history.

CHAPTER II. aimed only at enriching themselves, so that corruption and
 PORTU- oppression became rampant, and the feelings of the princes and
 GUESE SE- people were seriously alienated. The only event of interest to
 PREMACY. Cochin during this period was the abortive attempt of the Raja
 to attack the Zamorin. The former was still burning to avenge
 the death of his uncles and was always looking out for an oppor-
 tunity to accomplish his end. In 1521, he thought he saw a
 favourable opportunity, and with a force of 50,000 Nayers he
 marched towards Calicut. The Portuguese, disregarding treaty
 obligations, sent a few men to assist him, but by the intercession,
 it is said, of the Brahmans, the Raja had to retrace his steps
 without striking a blow. What the nature of this intercession
 was is not quite intelligible. *

Vasco Da
 Gama again.

The abuses in the Government of Portuguese India having
 come to the knowledge of the King of Portugal, he determined
 to send out a strong man to put them down. Accordingly, he
 induced the great Vasco Da Gama himself, now an old man, to
 go out as Viceroy, and he arrived at Goa in September 1524.
 His rule unfortunately lasted only for two months, but during
 this short period, he succeeded in correcting many abuses, in
 putting down piracy to a great extent and in improving the
 tone of the administration. He was received at Cochin with
 great enthusiasm, and was on the day of his arrival visited by
 the king, who treated him with great friendship and had an
 interview with him in the church porch. Da Gama died on the
 24th December and was accorded a princely funeral in Cochin.
 In 1538, his remains were taken to Lisbon, where they were
 given sepulture with great pomp and demonstration. Soon
 after Da Gama's death, the Zamorin decided to throw off the
 Portuguese yoke to the great satisfaction of the King of Cochin,
 and besieged their fortress at Calicut. Though he did not succeed
 in taking it, the Portuguese themselves abandoned it after de-
 molishing it and razing its walls to the ground in accordance
 with the instructions received from the King of Portugal.

Cochin af-
 ter Vasco Da
 Gama's time.

The information available regarding Cochin during the
 rest of the Portuguese period is very fragmentary, probably
 because not many events of note occurred during this period,
 the State enjoying comparative peace and quiet owing to the

* Danver's account based on Portuguese writers appears to be hardly
 credible. "The Brahmans" he says, "came to the Zamorin's assistance, and by
 cursing the land which gave protection to the Portuguese, succeeded in making
 many of the Cochin Raja's followers desist from the enterprise, and the rest were
 easily driven back within their own boundaries."

constant support of the Portuguese. The history of this period has therefore to be told in fragments. In 1537, king Rama Varma died after a reign of 33 years, during which period Cochin attained a prominent position among the Malabar States and enjoyed increasing prosperity. He was succeeded by Vira Kerala Varma, who is said to have been an able king. He was at first very friendly towards the Portuguese, but was estranged from them about 1550 on account of a sacrilegious act on their part. There was a temple not far from Cochin which was held in great veneration by the king and which was reputed to contain a great amount of treasure. Jorge Cabral, the Governor at that time, arranged to plunder it, but desisted at the earnest request of the Raja who happened to hear of it. Shortly after Cabral's departure, however, the crime was perpetrated by a subordinate of his with impunity. The king died in 1561 and was succeeded by Goda Varma; the length of this king's reign and the names of his immediate successors are unknown. In 1584 the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes got the king to assign over to them, without the consent of his people, all the customs of his territories. The whole of the customs duties levied at Cochin hitherto went to the coffers of the king, the Portuguese being satisfied with the profits of their trade: the people therefore felt themselves robbed of their just rights, and banded themselves to the number of 20,000, swearing to die in the defence of their liberties. The Captain of Cochin, not feeling himself in a position to resist their demand, made a virtue of necessity and suspended the execution of the order. The Viceroy came to Cochin soon after this and made a satisfactory settlement of the matter, by which he conceded generally all the demands of the people. From 1605 to 1635, Vira Kerala Varma was the king, and early in his reign the Muringur branch of the royal family was about to become extinct, whereupon the aged chief of Muringur, with the consent of the king, made the heir apparent of the Elaya Tavazhi branch his heir. When this prince Goda Varma succeeded to the musnad in 1635, Muringur became merged in the latter branch. In Goda Varma's time, the Elaya Tavazhi became reduced to two members, himself and a princess, when some princes were adopted from all the surviving collateral branches, Palluratti, Chazhur, and Mutta Tavazhi. Whatever induced the king to make adoptions from all these branches, the impolicy of the step soon became manifest, for the king's death which took place about 1645

CHAPTER II. was followed by the inevitable scramble for supreme authority. PORTU- The Portuguese, who were always unfavourably disposed towards GUESE SU- the Mutta Tavazhi princes, now espoused the cause of the PREMACY. the other two branches and expelled these princes from the kingdom, and the Pallurutti prince, Virarayira Varma, was installed on the musnad. The Mutta Tavazhi princes were joined by some of northern chiefs, and by their repeated attempts, albeit abortive, to recover the kingdom and succession, they created constant disturbances in the country for several years.

Porakad.

The Raja of Porakad (Porca of the Portuguese),* an unwilling feudatory of Cochin, became an ally of the Portuguese in Almeida's time, and assisted the Portuguese with his men in several of their subsequent expeditions. When Henrique de Menezes attacked Pantalayini Kollam in 1525, the Raja was present as an ally of the Portuguese, but for some reason the Governor thought him lukewarm and fired a shot at him to wake him up. The shot broke his leg, and turned a firm friend into a bitter enemy. He joined the party of the Zamorin and was in particular present at the siege of the Calicut fort. To take vengeance for his desertion, Menezes' successor, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, proceeded to Porakad, scouring the coast as he went, and attacked the town. The Raja was not there at the time, but the Moors defended the place courageously until the majority of them were slain, when the Portuguese entered the town and plundered it. The Raja's wife, with several other persons of note, was taken prisoner, and quantities of gold, silver and jewels, several pieces of cannon and thirteen large vessels were taken possession of and brought to Cochin. What was done with the prisoners is not known. In 1540, the Raja and the Kaimal,+ whose territory was situated between Porakad and Cochin, attacked some Portuguese vessels coming from the Maldives, whereupon the Portuguese invaded the Kaimal's territories. The Kaimal offered a stout resistance, but was eventually vanquished and slain together with a large number of his men. The Portuguese then proceeded to burn and pillage indiscriminately, and cut down 2,000 cocoanut trees. On perceiving this wholesale destruction, the Raja of Porakad went in person to the Portuguese Commander and requested him to desist, and agreed to a treaty of peace and

* The Raja was a Namburi chief like those Idappilli and Parur. Porakad was also known as Chembakasserri and Ambalapuzha.

+ It is not known who this Kaimal was. Probably he was the Elayadam of Chelayi whose family is still in existence.



He was ever since one of the most consistent opponents of the Portuguese.

Cranganur, situated near the sea on the right bank of the Puzer river, commands several ramifications of the inland navigation, and it was desirable to have a fort there to prevent the smuggling of pepper to the Calicut and Ponnani ports. After the sack of Cranganur at the end of 1504, a tower or small star-shaped fort was erected at the northern extremity of the Vaipir Island, opposite Cranganur. * The Raja of Cranganur was anxious to throw off the yoke of the Zamorin, and in 1510 he had the sympathy of the King of Cochin. But the latter did not like to call in the assistance of the Portuguese, as he was afraid that in the event of success the Portuguese would erect a factory there, which would seriously diminish the trade of Cochin. While matters stood thus, the Zamorin was advised by the King of Cambay to make another attempt to drive out the Portuguese, and marched a large army in 1511 to Cranganur and Vaipir, where he was joined by the Chief of Manipal with his men. The Portuguese were joined by the King of Cochin with 20,000 Nayars, and succeeded in defending the place against the enemy during the rainy season. Towards the end of the year, reinforcements arrived from Lisbon and Goa, whereupon the Zamorin retired, and the Portuguese marched to Mappili and plundered and burnt the town. The Portuguese won a foothold in Cranganur and to prevent the invasion of the Zamorin as well as the smuggling of pepper, they built a fort in 1537 near the confluence of four rivers. This was well and expertly strengthened by a wall, and the whole place was later enclosed by regular battlements of earth and masonry. A pretty town grew up near the fort with handsome churches and seminaries, war houses, and兵营, and a large population consisting of Portuguese, Malays,

* This was called Anikotta (a snake hole) and was built as a shrine in its state of preservation. This as well as the Umananda temple near the Tri-angulate river. Traces of the latter for Anantashayana.

friendship. He was ever since one of the most consistent allies of the Portuguese.

CHAPTER II.
PORTU-
GUESE SU-
PREMACY.

Cranganur.

Cranganur, situated near the sea on the right bank of the Periyar river, commands several ramifications of the inland navigation, and it was desirable to have a fort there to prevent the smuggling of pepper to the Chetva and Ponnani ports. After the sack of Cranganur at the end of 1504, a tower or small octagonal fort was erected at the northern extremity of the Vaipin island, opposite Cranganur. * The Raja of Cranganur was anxious to throw off the yoke of the Zamorin, and in this he had the sympathy of the King of Cochin. But the latter did not like to call in the assistance of the Portuguese, as he was afraid that in the event of success the Portuguese would have a factory there, which would seriously diminish the trade profits of Cochin. While matters stood thus, the Zamorin was induced by the King of Cambay to make another attempt to drive out the Portuguese, and marched a large army in 1534 to Cranganur and Vaipin, where he was joined by the Chief Idappilli with his men. The Portuguese were joined by the King of Cochin with 20,000 Nayers, and succeeded in defending the passes against the enemy during the rainy season. Towards the end of the year, reinforcements arrived from Lisbon and Goa, whereupon the Zamorin retired, and the Portuguese marched to Idappilli and plundered and burnt the town. The Portuguese now got a foothold in Cranganur, and to prevent the incursion of the Zamorin as well as the smuggling of pepper, they built a tower in 1535 near the confluence of four rivers. This tower was subsequently strengthened by a wall, and the whole was some years later enclosed by regular fortifications of earth and masonry.† A pretty town grew up near the fort with handsome churches and seminaries, ware-houses and bungalows, and with a large population consisting of Portuguese, Topasses,

* This was called Azhikotta (sea-side fort), and its walls still remain in a fair state of preservation. This as well as the Cranganur fort is now in Travancore territory. Traces of the latter fort are still visible.

† "On our arrival at Cranganur, we found there a noble college of the Jesuits, with a stately library belonging to it, the structure itself being not inferior to many in Europe. Besides the church of the Franciscans, they had a stately cathedral, adorned with tombs of Archbishops of this place. Without the wall of Cranganur was the college of Chanotte, famous for the resort of Christians of St. Thomas hither, who exercised their religious worship here in the Syriac language; and having erected school for the education of their youths, had several masters and priests of their own." (*The Coasts of Malabar and Coromandal*, by Philip Baldaeus, p. 630). No traces of the town are to be seen at present.

CHAPTER II. native Christians, low caste Hindus and slaves. The Raja entered into an alliance with the Portuguese and became independent of the Zamorin. The town remained in the possession of the Portuguese, and the Raja continued, though some times unwillingly, to be under their protection till Cranganur was captured by the Dutch in 1662. The Zamorin invaded the country in 1614 and 1616, but was repulsed by the Portuguese on both these occasions.

The Zamorin. Since the Portuguese left Calicut after destroying their fortress in 1526, they had several brushes with the Zamorin, in which the latter lost heavily both in men and in property. In 1531, for instance, the Portuguese cruisers captured twenty-seven richly laden ships belonging to him, and in 1534, he was defeated six times successively in attempting to force the pass of Kumbalam. Exhausted by these losses, the Zamorin at last sued for peace, and a treaty advantageous to the Portuguese was concluded in 1540, which lasted for some years. The only condition of the treaty, which was of special interest to Cochin, was that the Zamorin should be the friend of the allies of the Portuguese and that he should assist the Portuguese with men whenever required. This however does not appear to have prevented them from taking opposite sides in the quarrels of others, whether friends or foes, for, in the war between Cochin and Tekkumkur nine years later, we find the Portuguese assisting the former and the Zamorin the latter. By this time the Portuguese hold on the Malabar trade became irresistably strong, and they used their advantage relentlessly. The Zamorin and the Moors repeatedly made desperate attempts to throw off the yoke, and waged constant war, occasionally broken by a short-lived peace, till about the end of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese power in India began to decline, and they were obliged to relax their hold on the Malabar trade.

Tekkumkur. The Raja of Tekkumkur, * (the *Pimenta* or pepper country of the Portuguese), though an ally of the Portuguese, was hostile towards Cochin about this time, and the misunderstandings between the two States, fostered by the Zamorin,

* Venmalanad (the Venavalinad of the Jewish grant) was one of the early divisions of Kerula, and comprised the present Travancore Taluks of Kottayam, Changanacheri, Todupuzha, Meenachal, Vaikam, Muvattupuzha, and Ettumanur. It became subsequently split up into two principalities, Tekkumkur and Vadakkumkur, which were ruled by two branches of the same family. The former appears to have always been an independent principality, while the latter became subordinate to Cochin. Cochin came thus to be involved in the mutual jealousies and quarrels of these two States, which probably accounts for the hostility of Tekkumkur towards the suzerain of Vadakkumkur.

culminated in an open war towards the end of 1549. The Raja took the field with a force of 10,000 Nayars, and the King of Cochin did the same with his men assisted by 600 Portuguese. The contending armies came to close quarters at Vadutala, and after several desperate charges, the King of Tekkumkur was mortally wounded and died before the battle was decided. His troops thereupon fled in great disorder and was pursued with great slaughter and his palace burnt. The enemy however subsequently rallied their forces and fell upon the Cochiuites and the Portuguese with such fury that the latter had to retire in great disorder and with considerable loss. Five thousand Tekkumkur Nayars devoted themselves to avenging their chief and, entering Cochin territory, caused terrible destruction even in the Cochin town itself. But they were at last completely overcome by the Portuguese garrison of the town and the Cochin Nayars who took refuge there. The Zamorin was in the meantime collecting his forces and marching towards Tekkumkur. He was headed off at the Enamakal Lake by the Captain of Cranganur, but he succeeded in evading him by a wide detour towards the east. On his march the Zamorin was joined by eighteen Malabar Chiefs, * which raised his forces to a nominal total of 1,40,000 men, of whom 40,000 occupied Vadutala and the rest Chembil. The Commander of the Portuguese forces took advantage of this disposition to cut the army in two with his fleet. The Governor, Jorge Cabral, who now arrived from Goa with a large fleet, soon followed with 6,000 Portuguese and 40,000 Cochinites to attack Vadutala, but when the signal for attack was given, the enemy showed a flag of truce. The chiefs made the Governor understand that they were prepared to surrender on their lives being spared. Several days were spent in abortive negotiations, but finding that their object was merely to gain time by delay, the Governor determined to attack them the next day, 20th November 1550. Just as all was in readiness, however, a vessel arrived with orders from the new Viceroy to stay all proceedings, with the result that the chiefs and their whole army were suffered to escape. For some years after their escape, the several States were in a disturbed

* The earlier Portuguese Governors had secured the adhesion of the smaller southern States by small annual payments. Though the amounts were small (£72 and 42), the Chiefs could pretend to their subjects that the payments were made as tribute by the Portuguese. These payments were stopped in 1548, which wounded their vanity. This was the cause of their joining the Zamorin in this expedition.

CHAPTER II. condition, which prevented the Portuguese getting their annual supply of pepper.

**PORTU-
GUESE SU-
PREMACY.**

—
**Portuguese
Cochin.**

Under the Portuguese, Cochin rapidly grew into a large and flourishing town, and during their palmy days, it was, after Goa, the finest and the largest city on the Malabar Coast. According to Baldaeus, "it might compare with some of the best cities in Europe." It then covered all the sandy waste to the west and south of the present town, and contained, besides the fort, many handsome churches and monasteries, factories and houses. The fort contained the arsenal and the Government house, a magnificent structure. "The Jesuits' church and college facing the sea shore had a lofty steeple and a most excellent set of bells; the college, which was three storeys high, contained about 20 or 30 apartments, being surrounded with a strong wall. The cathedral was also a noble piece of architecture, adorned with rows of pillars and a lofty steeple. The church and convent of the Austin Friars stood upon the bank of the river and the church of the Dominicans with their convents were two rare pieces of workmanship, beautified with a double row of pillars of most excellent stone." All the Government buildings and most of the private residences were well built, handsome structures, the best houses having "their courtyards and gardens belonging to them, enclosed with very thin yet strong and high walls, so that the neighbours cannot overlook one another." In 1600 an excellent stone wall was constructed all round the town, with bastions at regular intervals. "The Malabar Cochin (Mattancheri) is seated somewhat lower, and built after the Indian fashion with broad streets; it is very populous, and the royal palace is built with bricks and mortar after the European way, with apartments very spacious and lofty; * near which stands the pagoda, with a very large cistern adjoining it." To the south of the Palace was the Jews' town, which was built in 1567 by a section of the Jews who deserted their ancient settlement of Anjuvannam in Cranganur and came to Cochin and Ernakulam in the previous year. "The town is very populous, as well with Portuguese as Indians, both Christian (of whom there are a large number) and infidel. * * There is great traffic and shipping there, and vessels come and enter this river from all parts: in short, for traffic and affluence of all the necessaries of life, it is a second Goa. This great shipping has rendered the country of the Cochin King busy,

* The present Mattancheri palace, which was built by the Portuguese and presented to the Raja about the year 1555.

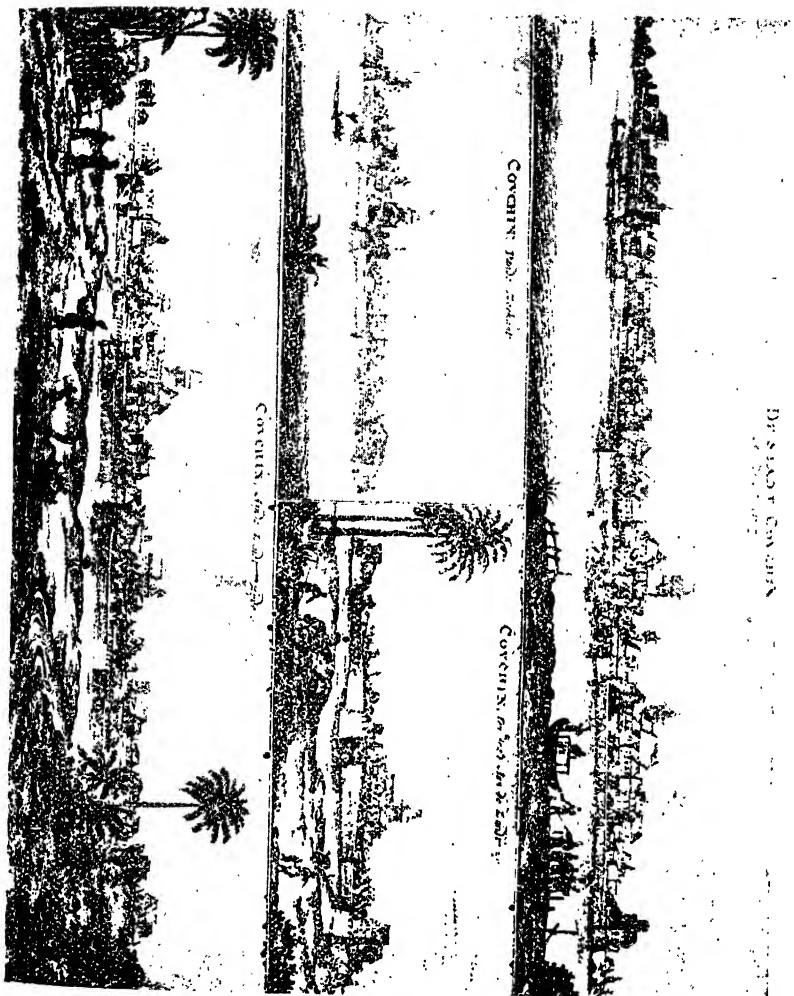


DE STADT COCHIN

COCHIN. 1841. 1842.

COCHIN. 1841. 1842.

COCHIN. 1841. 1842.



rich and opulent the king himself has become more wealthy and powerful, because he sells promptly all the produce of his country, and receives in return all that his country has need of, besides the tribute and presents that he gets daily from the Christian, Moor and Gentile merchants. The king and the inhabitants, as well Nayers and Moucois and other Malabars, Gentiles and Muhammadans, agree well with the Portuguese, and live in peace. There is a vast number of Jews there that are very rich, and all the different nations live in perfect liberty as to religion, each having its own temple, except in the Portuguese town which is reserved to that nation." Cochin was a gay city in those days, and it was a common saying that "China was a good place to make money in and Cochin to spend it at". *

CHAPTER II.
PORTU-
GUESE SU-
PREMACY.

The decline of the Portuguese power in India actually began not long after Albuquerque's time, but in the splendour of their early achievements the signs of weakness did not make themselves manifest. The system of Portuguese government in India was inherently vicious, and the distance from which controlling authority was exercised made it easy for their officers to set such control at defiance. The Portuguese officers were not given fair wages for fair work, but were allowed to supplement their income by private trade. This privilege was generally abused, and turned the Portuguese officials into unscrupulous adventurers, as regardless of their master's interests at home as they were merciless to their victims in India. As early as 1542, a new Governor, Martin Afonso De Sousa, found the royal service in great straits owing to the number of officers who had left it to turn merchants—a business which "offered greater chance of profit and less danger to life and limb." After three years' experience he was anxious to resign, "as he saw around him only corruption and dishonesty". "Your factory at Cochin," writes the Portuguese factor to the king, "is always in debt; the captains of the said vessels that come here making themselves very rich". Large fortunes were thus made by individuals, but the State derived but little advantage from the profits of trade, while it had to support a great drain of men and money for the wars

Decline of
the Portu-
guese power,

* *The Coasts of Malabar and Coromandal* by Philip Baldaeus, p. 632, and *Voyage to the East Indies* by Francois Pyrard De Laval, Vol. I, pp. 434-5. There is a glowing description of the town in a contemporary Sanskrit work called *Mata-Maharaja-prasasti* by the great Sanskrit poet of Malabar, Melpattur Narayana Bhattatiri, who lived in the second half of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER II. in the east. The acquisition of sudden and surreptitious wealth
 PORTU- had the usual enervating influence, and resulted in a reaction
 GUESE SU- of profligacy and sloth. The work of the community was
 PREMACY. done by slaves, while an idle population of men spent their time
 in gaming saloons and other haunts of iniquity, and an idle
 population of women lounged half-dressed through the tropical
 day in the seclusion of their homes, devising means to elude
 the vigilance of their husbands. The evil was aggravated by the
 action of the Lisbon Court which used India as a refuge for
 depraved or destitute hangers-on upon its bounty. "It became
 the asylum for those who had claims that could not be satisfied,
 or who had rendered services that could not be acknowledged,
 or had received promises that could not be fulfilled. Young
 women were shipped off from Lisbon with the dowry
 of an appointment in India for the men who would
 marry them. One favoured damsel carried in her trunk the
 Governorship of Cranganur."* The sale of Indian offices,
 which at first was an illicit trade, gradually became a source
 of public revenue. In 1614 it was expressly ordered that all
 commands and high appointments which would be likely to
 yield money were to be put up to sale. Further, in 1580 the
 Portuguese ceased to be the gallant little nation pursuing a
 career of glory under the vigorous and patriotic house of
 Aviz, and passed under the bigot rule of Philip II of Spain,
 who exhausted their resources in his struggle with Dutch
 Protestantism. At the same time, the rise of the Mughal
 power wrought great changes in India, and the Portuguese,
 who were able to hold their own in the scuffle with the coast
 Rajas, ceased to have any significance as a land power when
 the Mughal empire was extended southwards. In the sea they
 were beset by the Dutch and the English, who had now begun
 their struggle to obtain a footing in India. The combination
 of these and other circumstances proved too much for the
 Portuguese, who lost much of their power and prestige before
 the close of the sixteenth century, and early in the next they
 lost their monopoly of the eastern trade.

The Dutch
 and the Eng-
 lish.

While the cancer of misrule was weakening the Portuguese
 hold on the eastern trade, other European powers began to
 make their appearance in the Indian seas to dispute not only
 their monopoly of that trade but their supremacy in the east.

* Sir W. W. Hunter's *History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 184.

The Dutch East India Company began to despatch ships to India in 1595, and after many encounters with the Portuguese and their native allies, succeeded in establishing themselves in several places in India, in Ceylon and in the Eastern Archipelago within the next quarter of a century. The English East India Company pressed hard after that of Holland and made its first voyage to India in 1600. Although it was the Dutch that were destined to step first into the shoes of the Portuguese, it was the English who first obtained free access to the Portuguese ports and that first settled in Cochin. This access was obtained in consequence of the treaty of peace concluded in 1630 between England and Spain and the agreement concluded five years later between the Governor of Goa and the President of the English Company in India. A few Englishmen accordingly settled in Cochin, and pepper was exported direct to England for the first time in 1635. In the meantime the Dutch, while generally successful against the Portuguese both on sea and land, found their position in the northern settlements irksome, owing to the interference of the Mughal officers; they began therefore to cast a longing eye on the Malabar Coast, where, if they should succeed in establishing themselves, they could be territorial magnates as well as traders, immune from the exactions of an overwhelming power. About this time events were taking place in Cochin which hastened as well as helped the Dutch in obtaining a footing on the Malabar Coast.

The Pallurutti prince, who was installed as king with the help of the Portuguese,† died about the year 1650, and was succeeded by Rama Varma, the prince adopted from the Chazhur branch. When the latter died six years later, it was generally thought that his death made the way clear for the Mutta Tavazhi princes. But the Portuguese and the Travancore prince Ramana Koil‡ were not disposed to acquiesce in this arrangement, however expedient and popular it might be.

CHAPTER II.
PORTUGUESE
SUPREMACY.

THE DUTCH
CONQUEST
OF COCHIN.*

Disputed
succession.

* The authorities relied on for this section (where no other authority is quoted) are :—1. *The Coasts of Malabar and Coromandal*, by Philip Baldaeus; 2. *Voyages and Travels*, etc., by John Nieuhoff; 3. *Letters from Malabar*, by Jacob Cantervisscher; 4. *Expeditions to the East Indies*, by Bishop Sebastiani (an Italian work, extracts from which were translated for me by the Rev. Fr. Montiero d' Aguiar); 5. *A page from the History of Cochin*, by Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. IV; and 6. *The Grandhavaris of the State*.

† *Ante*, p. 80.

‡ The name is so given by Bishop Sebastiani who was in Cochin when these events and the capture of the town by the Dutch took place. He says that Ramana Koil was "the chief minister of the Queen (of Cochin) and brother of the King of Travancore". In the *Grandhavaris*, one Raghavan Koil is mentioned as one of the ministers of the Rani.

CHAPTER II. THE DUTCH CONQUEST OF COCHIN. This prince had great influence with the Rani, the last surviving member of the Elaya Tavazhi branch, and he and the Portuguese succeeded in persuading her to set aside the adoption of the Mutta Tavazhi princes and to take the reins of government in her own hands. She did so accordingly, but as she was now getting too old to be at the head of the administration, she was induced after three years to adopt four princes from the family of the Tanur or Vettat Raja, who was a firm ally of the Portuguese. Four princes of that family, Rama Varma, Virakerala Varma, Vira Arya and Goda Varma, were accordingly adopted in 1658, and the first of them, Rama Varma, was crowned in the same year. "The coronation by the Portuguese took place in the cathedral of Cochin, where he was also sworn Brother-in-Arms to the King of Portugal."* This adoption from an outside family, when there were collateral branches of the Cochin family still in existence, was felt as an insult added to injury, and the Chazhur princes also now joined hands with those of the Mutta Tavazhi. But their united forces, though supported by some of the northern chiefs, were not strong enough to wrest the throne from the bold and popular Vettat princes, helped as they were by the Portuguese and the southern chiefs. In this predicament, they repaired, though with reluctant steps, to their great enemy the Zamorin for help. That potentate had always been looking forward to the recovery of his lost position in Cochin and to the re-subjection of the Vettat Raja, who had shaken off his allegiance to him by the help of the Portuguese; and he also viewed with uneasiness the possibility of Vettat and Cochin being eventually united under one crown. The Zamorin therefore promptly promised his help, and concluded a treaty with the Mutta Tavazhi princes, by which he agreed to assist them in recovering the kingdom on the condition that the latter should compensate him for all the expenses that he might incur during the war and that, till the fulfilment of this stipulation, they should leave in his hands all the lands and strongholds that they might jointly conquer. When the Zamorin, according to this agreement, marched to Cochin to help the deposed princes, several of the chiefs, who had hitherto remained neutral, joined them, and the two opposing parties became fairly well matched. The civil war thus begun lasted for two years (1660-61). In the southern part of Cochin the Vettat party always succeeded in holding their own owing to

* Sebastiani.

the help of the Portuguese, while in the northern division the fortunes of war varied capriciously. While affairs stood thus, an entirely new turn was given to the course of events by the appearance of a new power on the scene.

CHAPTER II.
THE DUTCH
CONQUEST
OF COCHIN.

In 1656-58, all the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon were captured by the Dutch, who made Colombo their headquarters in the island, and in 1660 they took Quilon, which however was subsequently re-captured by the Portuguese. The Malabar chiefs had now begun to look upon the Dutch as the coming power, and as most of them were by this time more or less estranged from the Portuguese, they were prepared to extend a cordial welcome to a power known to be as inimical as themselves to the Portuguese. When therefore, in pursuance of their scheme to conquer the Portuguese possessions on the Malabar Coast, the Dutch under the command of Van der Meyden appeared off Vaipin in the beginning of 1661, they were welcomed by the Zamorin, the Mutta Tavazhi princes and the Raja of Cranganur.* On the 15th February Van der Meyden landed his troops at Narakkal and, after a skirmish with a Nayar force in which he lost a few men, he advanced the next day along the shore to the fortress of Pallipuram known as the Azhikotta (Ayacotta) outpost, and brought up two twelve pounders and a mortar, and constructed an entrenchment south of the port for security against forces coming from Cochin. The Portuguese garrison, being small, fled by the back-water, whereupon the Dutch took possession of the fort. Finding it however too late to do anything more that season, the Dutch handed over Pallipport to the Zamorin and returned to Colombo. When the fleet was on its way back, the Paliyat Acchan, who had not long before these events become the hereditary Chief Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Cochin, boarded Admiral Rikloff Van Goen's ship *De muscaatboom* and sought the protection of the Dutch. He cordially hated the Portuguese as they had tried to injure him in various ways, and though secretly attached to the Mutta Tavazhi princes, he still remained the minister of the Vettat princes, fully intending to desert their party the moment he saw a chance of striking an effective blow at the Portuguese. The Admiral received the Acchan's overtures favourably, and a treaty was concluded on board the

The first advance of the Dutch.

* This Raja is described by Baldaeus and Neinhoff as "a declared enemy of the Portuguese" and "a prince of great bravery and well versed in military affairs, in the flower of his age".

CHAPTER II. ship on the 12th March 1661, by which the Acchan agreed to place himself under the protection of the Dutch and undertook to serve them faithfully.

Capture of Cranganur.

Towards the end of the year the Batavia Council resolved to renew the campaign on the west coast and despatched a fleet to Cochin under the command of Admiral Van Goens, who on his way re-captured Quilon on the 7th December. The fleet then proceeded to Cochin, but before laying siege to that town, it was considered expedient to secure a firm footing on the north side at Cranganur. Van Goens accordingly landed a large force at Pallipuram and, assisted by the Zamorin and the Raja of Cranganur, proceeded to lay siege to the Cranganur fort on the 3rd January 1662. He posted his men in three places, and blocking up the fort both on land and river side, began to bombard it fiercely. The fort was however of great strength and was bravely defended by the Portuguese Commander Urbano Fielho Feriera, a man of great valour and courage. In the fort were also prince Goda Varina of Vettat with 400 Nayars and the Paliyat Acchan, and when the bombardment lasted for some days, the latter suddenly slipped out of the fort unobserved, and joined the Dutch, to whom he disclosed the condition of the place and how it could be entered. It was thereupon decided to storm the place, and on the 15th January the Dutch advanced under cover of the smoke of their guns, attacked the stronghold, climbed the bulwarks with sword in hand, and chased the Portuguese to the church of the Jesuits. A fierce engagement then took place, both sides fighting desperately. After about 200 Portuguese and a large number of Nayars had been slain and the commander severely wounded, the fortress was surrendered to the Dutch, who, after plundering the town and destroying the buildings except a stone tower on the river side, made over the place to the Cranganur Raja.* The Portuguese soldiers found in the place were sent back to Europe.

Battle of Mattancheri.

A week after the fall of Cranganur, the Dutch fleet approached Cochin and landed the troops at Vaipin. They seized the church facing the bar and a large house belonging to the Bishop of Cochin, and constructed a strong post close to it. Leaving there a garrison of 800 men with instructions to harass the

* This place was afterwards taken back from the Raja, when the Dutch began to apprehend a hostile encounter with the Zamorin.

town on the opposite shore with their artillery, Van Goens re-embarked with the rest of his men to attack Cochin from the south. The Mutta Tavazhi Raja, whom the Dutch favoured, now came on board, and the army landed some miles south of Cochin. Van Goens marched along the shore northward and, after resting the night in the great church of St. Jago, he marched on Mattancheri the next day. Here, the Nayar adherents of the Vettat princes, who had assembled in the palace and in the pagoda, disputed his advance. A battle was fought in front of the palace in which the Nayars led by the Raja and his two brothers fought desperately, and making a furious onset, hacked the Dutch right and left with their swords. A large number of the Dutch soldiers were cut down in this encounter, but the Nayars fighting without method were soon driven back with great slaughter by the disciplined valour and the superior arms of their enemies. Among the slain were the Raja and the two princes, who were cut down gallantly fighting, and most of their ministers and chief adherents.* The old Rani was watching the fight from the palace; when the action was over, Hendrick Van Rheede, then an ensign in the Dutch army (afterwards Governor of Cochin and compiler of the *Hortus Malabaricus*), dashed upstairs and took her prisoner, and carried her on the shoulders of a Namburi to the Admiral's camp. The Mutta Tavazhi Raja, who was then closetted with the Admiral, prostrated himself before his aunt and craved her pardon for taking up arms against her, while Van Goens compelled her to recognise her deposed nephew as the King of Cochin. She was kept in safe custody for some time after, but was treated with great kindness and consideration.† Goda Varma, now the only surviving Vettat prince, was at Pallurutti when Mattancheri was occupied by his enemies. On hearing of the death of his brothers and the capture of Mattancheri, he fled to Chertala, where he succeeded in collecting a small force of Nayars, and with this he crossed over to Arur to watch the course of events.

In the meantime, the Dutch laid siege to the town. Their force was divided into three companies, one of which was placed

Siege of
Cochin.

* A large number were wounded in this fight and several were taken prisoners. Among the latter were two Namburis of the Muriyatitta house, ministers of the Rani, who were carried off to the Dutch fleet in chains. Raghavan Koil was severely wounded, but succeeded in making his escape.

† The Rani's name is given as Gangadhara Mahalakshmi, and she is described as "an old woman, very plain in appearance, but covered with gold ornaments and jewels". She seems to have died only in 1676.

CHAPTER II. on the sea side of the town, one on the land side, and the third
THE DUTCH occupied a position near the back-water. Batteries and apprao-
CONQUEST ches were then formed and after a short attack it was decided
OF COCHIN. to storm the place. Arrangements were made to make the
 assault at four in the morning, but owing to some delay the
 advance was not made till sunrise. This was at once discovered
 by the Portuguese, who were thus prepared to meet the attack,
 and they met it with the spirit of their ancestors of the days of
 Pacheco and Albuquerque. The Dutch, led by a brave officer,
 Captain Peter Was, delivered the attack with great intrepidity,
 but met with such a warm reception that after a most obstinate
 engagement they were forced to retreat with great loss, the
 captain himself being among the slain. The siege however
 was continued vigorously for nearly a month, during which both
 sides lost many men, the loss of the besiegers being much
 heavier. Meanwhile, the Raja of Porakad, a staunch ally of
 the Portuguese, arrived at Ernakulam with a detachment of
 Nayars and succeeded in throwing in supplies to the besieged
 and harassing the besiegers in the rear. A relief force consis-
 ting of 200 Portuguese from Goa landed at Porakad towards
 the end of February, and marched to Arur, whence they
 managed to get into the fort by way of the back-water. The
 Dutch now found themselves unable to carry on the siege
 with any chance of success. Their force had become re-
 duced to 1,400 men, and they were in want of several war
 materials. It was therefore decided to raise the siege, and to
 return with a greater force at the end of the year.

The siege
 raised.

Accordingly on the night of the 2nd March, the Dutch
 decamped without noise, and got all their men, artillery and
 ammunition on board without being perceived by their enemies.
 The Portuguese looked upon their movements at first only as a
 feint to draw them out of the town into an ambush, and it was
 only towards noon that they perceived that the siege had
 actually been raised. They were naturally elated at this unex-
 pected success, and there were great rejoicings among them and
 the adherents of the Vettat princes. But the first use the
 Portuguese made of their escape was to wreak vengeance on the
 Jews and the Konkans, who were believed to have rendered
 some assistance to the Dutch. Their houses were plundered,
 their temples pillaged and their markets looted. Goda Varma
 now came over to Mattancheri from Arur, and, attended by 700
 Nayars, he made his entry into the town, where he was received
 with great rejoicings and recognised as king. On the other

hand, the Mutta Tavazhi Raja and the Paliyat Acchan escaped from Mattancheri with great difficulty and fled for their lives. Before their embarkation, however, the Dutch had promised them that they would return in greater force soon after the monsoon had passed off, and the fugitive Raja and his minister waited anxiously for their return. Not hearing from the Dutch at the close of the monsoon and fearing that they had given up their attempt to capture the town, the Raja and the Acchan, accompanied by a Chazhur prince, again proceeded to Colombo to hasten their departure. A great fleet under Jacob Hustaart, who was afterwards joined by Admiral Van Goens, had already set sail from Batavia to resume the siege of Cochin, and from Colombo the Raja and his party accompanied the fleet. On his way, however, His Highness died on board the ship off Porakad, bequeathing his unstable musnad to his brother Virakerala Varma.*

CHAPTER II.
THE DUTCH
CONQUEST
OF COCHIN.

On the 26th October 1662 the Dutch again appeared before Cochin with a greatly increased force. As on the previous occasion, they landed at Pallipuram and marched to the southern end of Vaipin, where they entrenched themselves and placed batteries in position. Leaving four hundred men there, the bulk of the army re-embarked and landed near the church of St. Andrew in Cochin, where the Portuguese were waiting to meet the attack. The Dutch General offered very favourable terms to the Portuguese if they should surrender the town, but the Portuguese Commander, Ignatio Sermiento, refused to entertain the suggestion, and it was therefore resolved to take the place by storm. The Dutch began by making themselves masters of Mattancheri and the adjacent places, from which Goda Varma had previously withdrawn with his men to Ernakulam. They then erected batteries at several points and began to batter the town continually, but did not succeed in making any serious impression on it. Repeated assaults were made on the town but were repulsed by its brave defenders. Meanwhile the Raja of Porakad joined Goda Varma at Ernakulam and, as on the previous occasion, threw supplies into the town, though with great difficulty, and harassed the enemy in the rear. The Dutch thereupon decided to attack Ernakulam, and crossed over in armed boats. The

Second siege
of Cochin.

* Of the deceased prince Neiuhoff says, "He came often to visit us, being commonly clad in white calico, with his hair tied in a knob on the top of his head, rings on his fingers and a gold chain hanging down before him. He spoke the Portuguese and the Malabar tongues, and was of a pleasant conversation."

CHAPTER II. **Nayars under Portuguese officers met their foes most gallantly, and drove them back with great loss. Fresh troops were however brought up under Captain Ree, and after a bloody encounter the Nayars were repulsed with great slaughter, and Ernakulam was occupied by the Dutch.**

THE DUTCH CONQUEST OF COCHIN.

Capture of Cochin. In Cochin the Portuguese still held out, but they began to feel the want of provisions caused by the loss of Ernakulam. The Dutch General, in conjunction with the troops of Raja Virakerala Varma and the Paliyat Acchan, now determined on storming the fort. For eight days and nights, they kept up a succession of assailants, the troops being relieved every three hours, and on the ninth day, 6th January 1663, made determined attacks simultaneously on three points. At one of these points, the bulwark of Calvetty, Captain Peirre du Pon succeeded in gaining a position on the wall and, although the attacks on the other parts were not so successful and resulted in considerable loss to the assailants, Peirre du Pon managed to hold out against the garrison until reinforcements came to his assistance. The Dutch held this position with their cannon pointed against the city throughout the night, "the most sorrowful and miserable Cochin had ever experienced", says Sebastiani, and the next morning they became masters of the town, the Portuguese having capitulated. By the terms of capitulation, all the Portuguese possessions in Cochin passed over to the Dutch, all the married Portuguese and Mestizos were sent to Goa and the unmarried ones to Europe, all free Topasses * and Canarians were left at the disposal of the Dutch Commander, and the clergy were allowed to take with them their images and church ornaments excepting those made of gold or silver. As the Portuguese had previously removed most of the valuables to Goa, the Dutch did not find much valuable booty within the city. Directly after the capture of Cochin, the Dutch proceeded to Cannanore and laid siege to the Portuguese fort there. It was capitulated on the 13th February 1663.

Dutch Cochin. Having thus established themselves as masters of Cochin, the Dutch made it their head quarters on the Malabar Coast.

* "Topasses" were half caste descendants of the Portuguese. The name is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Dvibhashi*, meaning interpreter. They acted as interpreters between the Europeans and natives. On the capture of Cochin, Van Goens offered to take such of them as were willing into the service of the Dutch, a proposal to which many of them at once acceded. "Canarians" were natives of Kanara converted to Christianity by the Portuguese.

They made considerable alterations in the town. As the fort was considered to be too large for their purposes and to require too many men to defend it, it was reduced to about a third of its former size. Several houses and churches were demolished with a view to draw the town into a more narrow compass, but most of the streets were allowed to stand as they had been arranged by the Portuguese, simply receiving Dutch names. The church of the Franciscans (the present Protestant church) was retained for the services of the Dutch reformed religion, while the magnificent cathedral of Santa Cruz was converted into a store-house, more especially for sugar, cinnamon, pepper and other spices. The Dutch Government of Cochin, which was subordinate to the supreme Council of Batavia, was constituted with a Governor or Commandant at its head, assisted by a council of eight officers. Each of the councillors had also a special department of work assigned to him. One of the first acts of the Dutch in Cochin was to order the English and the European Romish priests to leave their territory forthwith. The English, who had a factory here since 1635, withdrew accordingly to their settlement at Ponnani. The banishment of the European priests, together with the destruction of churches, filled the inhabitants, who were mostly Roman Catholics, with consternation, and they began to leave the place in large numbers, so much so that it was apprehended that Cochin would soon become a town of empty houses and deserted streets. The Dutch therefore changed their policy to some extent, and enticed the people back by milder measures, restoring to them the church at Vaipin for their services.

Prince Virakerala Varma, after so many vicissitudes of fortune, was now installed as King of Cochin by General Hustaart, and was presented with a crown which bore the arms of the Dutch East India Company. A treaty was concluded on the 22nd March 1663, by which the Dutch undertook to protect the State from foreign aggression and to erect fortresses for such protection wherever necessary, and the Raja to deliver to the Dutch all the pepper and cinnamon produced in the country and to allow them the monopoly of the import trade in opium. The Christians were placed under the protection and jurisdiction of the Dutch Company, but the Christians in the interior parts having taken undue advantage of this concession, the jurisdiction of the Company was by a subsequent treaty limited to the Christians living in the Dutch possessions and on the coast. Several of the subordinate chiefs and feudatory

The new
King of Co-
chin.

CHAPTER II. DUTCH SUPREMACY. **Rajas** had made themselves practically independent during the prolonged period of disturbance which preceded the Dutch conquest of Cochin. Most of these were now compelled to return to their allegiance to the king, but as the power and influence of the Dutch did not extend much beyond the coast region, some chiefs in the interior still remained refractory. The Raja of Porakad was one of the first to submit to the new government, declaring that he would serve Raja Virakerala Varma and the Dutch as faithfully as he did Goda Varma and the Portuguese. The Paliyat Acchan was again confirmed as the chief minister, but he was required to consult the Dutch Governor as well as the Raja in all important matters relating to the administration of the country. His powers were very extensive and were subject to no limit but the pleasure of the king.

The Paliyat
Acchan.

As the Paliyat Acchan now became the protagonist on the Cochin stage and continued to be so with short intervals for about a century and a half, and as his family is still the most wealthy and influential in the State, a word may be said here regarding the history of this family. The Acchan was originally a petty vassal of the Raja of Villarvattat, who was himself a Kshatriya feudatory of Cochin. What the extent of this principality was is not known, but it certainly comprised Chennamangalam and some territory to the north and south of it.* The family of Villarvattat was about to become extinct towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the last chief, instead of making an adoption from a Kshatriya family to continue the line, made his son the Paliyat Acchan his heir. This bequest appears to have been made about the year 1599 and with the sanction of the King of Cochin, and included the title and privileges but only a part of the territory of Villarvattat. During the few years following the attainment of this position, the Acchan seems to have rendered great services to the State—it is not known what they were—, for we find the Raja making him the chief of (south) Vaipin in 1622 and a

* Ibn Batuta, speaking of his journey by back-water in 1342 from Calicut to Quilon, says, "It (Quilon) is situated at the distance of ten days from Calicut. After five days I came to Kanjarkara which stands on the top of a hill, is inhabited by Jews, and governed by an Emir, who pays tribute to the King of Kawlam (sic)." This Emir was evidently the Villarvattat chief. The river hereabouts used to be known as Kanjirapuzha, and the palace of the chief, the site of which is still pointed out, was on the top of the hill at the eastern end of the island of Chennamangalam. At the foot of the hill is a Jewish settlement, one of the oldest in Cochin.

few years later the hereditary prime minister of the State, a position which had hitherto been held by the Naikarveetil Acchan.* We have seen what part he played in the revolution which ended in the overthrow of the Vettat princes and the Portuguese by the Mutta Tavazhi princes and the Dutch. During the early days of the Dutch, the position of this Acchan, Komi by name, became pre-eminent in the State and was second only to that of the king, the Dutch having by express agreement prohibited the Elaya Raja and other princes from interfering in the affairs of the State. This position was generally maintained by his successors for over a century.† In April 1666, Admiral Van Goens issued a proclamation to the Malabar chiefs, intimating that the Acchan was under the protection of the Dutch East India Company and that the Company would punish any one interfering unlawfully or against *mamul* with him or his officers or his Nayars. In 1674, for some unexplained reasons, the Manakot Nayar and the Tottasseri Talassannor‡ were for a few years associated with Komi Acchan in the administration of the State by the Raja with the approval of the Dutch Governor. Komi Acchan died in 1684 and was succeeded by Itinnan Acchan. As the latter was young and inexperienced, a Dutch officer, Captain Hendrik Reins, was appointed joint *Sarvadhikaryakar* with him, and Vadakumcheri Raman Acchan and Paratirutti Ittinikumaran Acchan to assist them.

CHAPTER II.
DUTCH SUPREMACY.

It will be remembered that the Zamorin went to war with the Vettat princes and the Portuguese on behalf of the Mutta Tavazhi princes. He and the latter princes succeeded in obtaining possession of certain territories, which according to their agreement had been left with the Zamorin. He was still in possession of these lands, which comprised, among others, Mapranam, Arattupuzha and Urakam and all the lands to the

The Zamorin
and Cochin.

* The "Naicoviti" of Cantervisscher (*Letters*, p. 88).

† In the Dutch records of this time the Paliyat Acchan is spoken of as "the Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister for life of the kingdom of Cochin"; "the free Raja of Chennotta (Chennamangalam)" and "the free lord of the island of Vaipin."

‡ Both these families have now become extinct. Manakot was a branch of the Paliyat by adoption, and was the chief of Ayirunad (Mullurkara). The Talassannor was a Pisharodi by caste and the most powerful of the chiefs of Peratvithi (the territory bordering on the Perar or Bharata river and comprising the Chelakara and Pazhayannur Pravrittis). His lands lay between Mullurkara and Chelakara.

CHAPTER II. west thereof, Enamakkal, Chetva, Korattikara, Kudavallur,
 DUTCH SU- and certain villages in Venneri. The Raja now demanded the
 PREMACY. restoration of these lands, but the Zamorin maintained that by
 — the conditions of the treaty he was not bound to comply until
 he had been repaid all the expenses of the war. The former,
 impoverished by his wars, had no money in his treasury and,
 even if he had, he did not in the least intend to reimburse the
 Zamorin for his expenses. He therefore applied to the Dutch for
 assistance to recover possession of the lands, but as the Zamorin
 had assisted them in capturing the Crauganur fort and had
 given them no cause of quarrel, they were not disposed to fall
 in with the Raja's wishes. Their main object was trade; ter-
 ritorial sovereignty and protectorate over Native States were
 undertaken only with a view to enforce their monopoly of trade.
 They soon began to find however that this sovereignty and
 protectorate had many disadvantages and expenses, as they had
 to maintain troops and civil establishments at several stations.
 Within a few years after the conquest of Cochin, the destruction
 of some of their forts on the west coast was seriously agitated,
 and some of them were even offered for sale to the Portuguese.
 An expensive war with the Zamorin on behalf of Cochin would
 in these circumstances prove ruinous to them. They therefore
 counselled patience to the Raja, who accepted it with what
 grace he could, and had to put up with it till his death in 1687.

An attempt- The Raja died at Trichur in that year, and was succeeded by
 ed revolution. his brother Ravi Varma. He was now the only member of the
 royal family. At a meeting held in Chennamangalam in May
 1681, where the late and present Rajas, the Dutch Governor, the
 Paliyat Acchan and several other chiefs were present, one of the
 resolutions passed was that the next adoption should be from
 the Chazhur family. Accordingly, some princes and princesses
 were adopted from that family in 1689. By this time however
 a reaction had set in in favour of the Vettat family. The impres-
 sion seems to have gained ground that the Dutch were
 indifferent to the interests of Cochin and would never assist her
 in recovering possession of her lands from the Zamorin, and also
 that their power was neither so great nor so well established as
 that of the Portuguese in their time. Many of the feudatory
 Rajas and chiefs of Cochin thought that, if Vettatnad and Cochin
 combined, they could easily drive the Dutch out of Cochin and
 afterwards wage war against the Zamorin with success. Among
 these chiefs were the Rajas of Parur, Mangad, and Manakulam,

the Karyakars of Peratvithi and the Madambis of Karapuram* to whom the Raja, disgusted by the lukewarmness of the Dutch in furthering his interests, secretly extended his sympathy and support. They gained over to their side a great many chiefs and their followers, but did not succeed with the Paliyat Acchan, notwithstanding the great pressure that was brought to bear upon him. That minister, though young, did not want to plunge the country again into a civil war, and stood firmly by the Chazhur princes and the Dutch. The confederates however persisted in their enterprise, and made their arrangements; in 1691 the Vettat prince with a force of Nayars marched to Mangad, and was joined by several chiefs with their followers on the way. The Dutch in the meantime were fully aware of what was going on and held themselves in readiness to act on the offensive. Their troops supported by the Nayars of the Zamorin and the Paliyat Acchan and led by Hendrik Van Rheede, a former Governor of Cochin and now Commissary-General, fell suddenly upon the confederates near Alway and easily routed them. The latter were taken almost by surprise and made but a feeble resistance. With a view to teach their enemies a lesson, the Dutch first plundered and then burned the palaces, the chief houses and bazaars in Alangad and Parur, and spread havoc throughout these States. They did not extend their operations further north but returned to Cochin with the booty that they had obtained. They were never afterwards molested by the chiefs in this manner.

Soon after these events, the Dutch ceded Chetva, which they got from Cochin, to the Zamorin, and concluded a commercial War with
the Zamorin.

* The Parur Raja was a Namburi chief, who ruled over what corresponds approximately to the present Taluk of that name in Travancore. Mangad was a Nayar family ruling over the present Taluk of Alangad, and consisted of two branches, the *Karutta* (black) Tavazhi and *Velutta* (white) Tavazhi. Manakulam was one of the Talapilli Rajas, the others being Kakkad, Ayinikur (or Cheralayam) and Punnattur. They ruled over the territory stretching from Vadakancherry to the sea. Kakkad became extinct about this time and Punnattur got a third of its lands, while the other two agreed to keep the rest as the personal estate of the eldest member of their joint family. There are three more families now, namely, Chittanjur, Kumarapuram and Anaikal, the first being a later offshoot of Manakulam and the other two of Cheralayam. Punnattur was subject to the Zamorin and the rest to Cochin, but they were very fickle in their allegiance, and transferred it as circumstances or inclination guided them. The Karyakars of Peratvithi were the Tottasseri Talassannor, already referred to, the Ayyazhi Patanayar and the Vadakkum Nambidi, both of which families became afterwards merged in that of Kavalapara, the Tekkum Nambidi and the Kinattumkara Nayar, both still in existence. Karapuram, the sandy tract between Cochin and Porakad, was parcelled out among 72 diminutive chiefs called Madambis, of whom one was a Christian and the rest Nayars.

CHAPTER II.
DUTCH SU-
PREMACY.

treaty with him. This was a great disappointment to Cochin as it destroyed all hopes of the Dutch assisting her against the Zamorin. Repeated attempts were however made during the next few years to draw them into hostilities with that prince. Constant skirmishes took place between small parties of Cochin and Calicut Nayers, and complaints based on these were often made against the Zamorin to the Dutch Governor, but the latter as often counselled the Raja to settle his disputes with the Zamorin amicably. Affairs continued in this manner till the death of Ravi Varma, who appears to have been a weak prince. He died at Tiruvalla in Travancore in 1698 and was succeeded by a strong and resolute prince, Rama Varma of the Chazhur family. It did not take him long to accomplish what his predecessors so long failed to do. Skirmishes with the Zamorin's Nayers on some pretext or other became more frequent and more serious till at last it became necessary for the Dutch to take some decisive action. Accordingly, the Governor sent requisitions to the Rajas of Porakad, Vadakumkur and other feudatories of Cochin to send representatives to Cochin to consult and settle amicably the differences between the Zamorin and the King of Cochin. But it was too late, for, before the representatives could arrive, the Zamorin had declared war against Cochin and invaded the northern part of the State early in 1701. The Dutch were at last obliged to take the field against the Zamorin, an obligation which they had dexterously managed to evade for nearly forty years. The war thus begun lasted for nine years in a desultory manner, and the Dutch took part in it in a still more desultory fashion. No details of this war are available, but it is clear that there was no heavy fighting at any stage of this protracted campaign. The war was terminated by a treaty concluded in 1710, by which Chetva and Pappinivattam came into the possession of the Dutch, Cranganur, Ayirur and Pazhancheri* were placed under their protection, and Cochin recovered a great portion of the lands which the Zamorin had seized. Several bits of Cochin territory still remained in the possession of the Zamorin.

* Ayirur was a collateral branch of the Cranganur family and ruled over the middle portion of the Chetva island. The northern portion of the island was under the Sarkara branch of the same family. That branch died out, bequeathing its territory to the Nayar sons of the last chief. The family of the sons is known as Pazhancheri, which is now divided into several branches of which the Blahayil branch is the best known. Pappinivattam is a small tract of territory between Cranganur and Ayirur. It was called Papponetty by the Dutch.

The Dutch and the Zamorin having once fallen out and the latter having had the worst of it, no efforts on the part of Cochin were now required to re-kindle hostilities between them. The loss of Chetva, the possession of which enabled him at any moment to turn the flank of Cochin's defence, was bitterly felt by the Zamorin, while to the Dutch it became a matter of importance to strengthen the northernmost point of the island with a view to curb the power and check the future incursions of their dangerous neighbour. They therefore set about the erection of a fort at this point in 1714. This enraged the Zamorin, and the English, who had settlements at Tellichery, Calicut and other places and were anxious for the humiliation of their rivals the Dutch, incited him to prevent the erection of the fort. Not succeeding by fair means in his endeavour, the Zamorin, acting on the advice of the chief English factor, Robert Adams, resorted to stratagem to recover possession of the place. He sent some soldiers disguised as coolies to take part in the building of the fort with instructions to overpower the enemy at the first suitable opportunity. The two Dutch lieutenants who were in charge of the works were one evening playing dominos in a place half a mile from the fort, while the garrison carelessly sauntered about the place in the cool of the evening. Taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, the disguised soldiers killed the sentinels, and signalled to a body of Nayars who were in ambush in the neighbourhood under the command of the Zamorin's minister Dharmot Panikkar. They rushed upon the garrison and soon overpowered it, and the fort which was nearly completed, was taken in January 1715 almost without striking a blow. One of the Lieutenants was killed in an attempt they made to re-take it, when the other, considering success impossible, drew off the remainder of his forces and embarked for Cochin, where he was tried by court-martial and shot for neglect of duty. The Zamorin's people caused the English flag to be hoisted upon the fort, and carried off some big guns belonging to the Dutch.

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—
Renewal of hostilities.

The Governor of Cochin, Barent Ketel, took immediate steps to retrieve the loss, and hastened to Chetva with all his available men, three pieces of artillery and two mortars. The Zamorin's men stationed themselves on the way to obstruct their progress, but were driven back by the fire of the Dutch artillery. They retreated into the fort at Chetva, which was soon besieged by the Dutch; but after repeatedly failing in carrying it by assault, they had to raise the siege and return to

Dutch reverses.

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Cochin with considerable loss. The Zamorin took advantage of this opportunity to take possession of Pappinivattam and to erect a good fort there and post a strong garrison in it. Towards the close of the year, three captains arrived from Batavia with reinforcements, and early in 1716 they attacked the fort at Pappinivattam. But when the garrison made a sortie, the Dutch soldiers were seized with sudden panic and fled in disorder; one of the captains who was second in command trembled, it is said, at the sound of cannon. These reverses created consternation among the Dutch. Several chiefs began to show signs of wavering in their allegiance to the Dutch and the Raja of Cochin, while some others, like the Rajas of Pun-nattur, Manakulam and Ayinikur, openly joined the Zamorin.

Final success. Things remained in this state till the end of 1716, when Councillor William Bakker Jacobz was despatched from Batavia with an excellent army consisting of Europeans, Javanese and Balinese, who were on their arrival at Cochin joined by the Raja's forces. The first attempt of the joint forces was upon the stronghold of Pappinivattam, which was surrendered after an obstinate resistance, in which the Zamorin sustained a heavy loss. After completely destroying the fort, they advanced to Chetva, and some of the Dutch ships were sent to attack it by sea. On arriving there, however, they found the fort altogether deserted, the Zamorin's men having retreated to their outposts in the interior. They then proceeded to the isolated tracts in Cochin territory which were still held by the Zamorin and in all of which he had erected wooden forts.* Those at Trikkunnat, Akamturut, Mapranam, Arattupuzha, Muttakunnat and Puttanpadam were captured after a slight resistance, but at Urakam a more serious encounter took place between the opposing forces, in which a decisive victory was gained over the Zamorin's army. As the monsoon had now set in, the army went into winter quarters; but towards the close of the year, they took the field again and captured "Patri-cotti".† "A noble pagoda of the Poenetoor Namburi was pillaged by the Balinese and the other coloured soldiers," who "obtained a quantity of gold and silver articles and precious stones." At this stage the Zamorin became alarmed and sued for peace, and a treaty was concluded with him in February 1718, by

* Called *pagers* by the Dutch. It is said to be a Malay word meaning stockades. The local vernacular name for them was *kutti-kotta* or *lakkidi-kotta*.

† It is not known what and where this is. The name is so given in Cantervisscher's *Letters*.

which he agreed, among other conditions, to cede to the Dutch his possessions in the Chetva island and the Cochin State, to return the guns he had taken, to pay a large sum towards the expenses of the war, to give seven per cent. on all pepper exported from his country, and to live in perpetual friendship with the Raja of Cochin. The ceded tracts, except those in the Chetva island and also Mapranam, were made over to Cochin. Mapranam, which was the chieftdom of the Nambiyar of Velosnad, before it was taken by the Zamorin, was now returned to him on the condition of his holding it under the Dutch Company and paying an annual tribute to it.

Raja Rama Varma had now the satisfaction of having re-covered almost all the possessions of his ancestors,* and this was to no small extent due to his own skillful engineering of the situation. In the very first year of his reign he obtained from the Dutch, on the plea of want of money to pay his troops, a grant of the Alfandigos, pepper customs and 500 candies of pepper, together with some other concessions. In three years he succeeded in drawing them into a war with the Zamorin, which lasted with interruptions for sixteen years and which ended in the manner above described. The only party that benefited by the war was Cochin, and for this as well as for several other reasons, the Dutch cordially disliked the Raja. One of their writers† describes him as “crafty and designing”, one who “delighted in wars, though with his own soldiers he did but little execution, and laid the chief burden of prosecuting it upon the Company”. However his action might be viewed by the Dutch, he had so far served his country well: he succeeded in obtaining from them a substantial return for the profits they enjoyed of a jealously guarded monopoly of trade in Cochin, and for this his subjects had only reason to be

* There still remained Perumpaduppu and other Cochin villages in Veneri in the possession of the Zamorin. The loss of these villages had always been a sore point to Cochin, as from time immemorial the Kings of Cochin went through their coronation ceremony in a place called Chitrakutam in the Perumpaduppu village. The Zamorin held to them tenaciously for the same reason. Rama Varma is said to have taken a solemn oath on his accession to the musnad that he would not be crowned anywhere except at Chitrakutam and that he would never wear a crown till he went through the ceremony of coronation there. Unfortunately, Cochin never succeeded in regaining possession of Perumpaduppu, and Rama Varma's successors, respecting his oath, never afterwards performed the ceremony, nor did they ever wear a crown. Traces of the Chitrakutam palace still exist. There is a temple of some importance near it, which is now under the management of Cochin.

Cantervisscher, who was the Dutch chaplain in Cochin from 1717 to 1728.

CHAPTER II. DUTCH SUPREMACY. proud of him. But the manner in which he governed the country left much to be desired.

Internal troubles.

He treated his subjects, especially his chiefs, harshly and vexatiously. "His private interests occupied all his thoughts", says the same writer: "he paid his soldiers so badly that they were sometimes forced, when garrisoning a place, to make a sortie to provide themselves with food. His extortions were unrivalled, he was always devising fresh means of levying funds, so that from being one of the poorest, he became the richest of the Cochin Rajas. He "was in the habit of clandestinely injuring other princes in order to provoke them to hostilities against each other." The chiefs constantly complained of his extortions and oppressions to the Dutch Governor in Cochin and the Governor-General in Batavia, and some of them were even provoked to show their teeth at times. The Raja as constantly complained to the same authorities of the refractory conduct of his chiefs and the danger to which the State was exposed by such conduct. The Governor-General was at last provoked to indulge in some plain speaking. In some of his letters he told the Raja that he had only to thank himself for the troubles of which he complained. He should treat his chiefs with kindness and consideration, place confidence in them and seek their advice, instead of which he listened to the "sinister and interested advice of Chettis and Pattars and Namburis, and alienated his chiefs by harsh measures". The Governor, who arrived in 1716, Johannes Hertenberg, seems to have had special instructions in regard to this matter, for he extorted, soon after his arrival, a stipulation from the Raja, "that all the Rajas, Princes and Nobles should lay their complaints and disputes before him (the Governor) so that he is constituted arbitrator between them; by which means he became acquainted with the grounds of their differences, and is thus enabled to hinder many illegal enterprises of the King of Cochin." After this, there was considerable improvement in the relations between the Raja and the chiefs, but the former was bitterly annoyed with Hertenberg and never afterwards met him on friendly terms. Being a man of sense however, he enjoined upon his successor, when on his death-bed, to live on good terms with the Company.

Raja Ravi Varma.

Raja Rama Varma died in Trichur on the 9th October 1722, and was succeeded by his nephew Ravi Varma, "a man of little or no judgment and despised by his predecessor. His

whole bearing and conduct betoken his inferiority. Not only do his courtiers and grantees esteem him but lightly, the Company too have little hope of getting any good out of him." No event of great importance took place during his reign. Protracted disputes regarding adoption and succession in the families of the Parur and Mangad Rajas, Koratti Kaimal and Muriyanad Nambiyar,* and some punitive expeditions against refractory chiefs filled up most of the time. These disputes were too complicated and at the same time too petty to be dealt with here. In 1729 the Zamorin tried to form a confederacy with the Rajas of Kayankulam and Tekkumkur to attack the Raja of Cochin and the Dutch, but his attempt was frustrated by the timely intervention of the Dutch Resident in Kayankulam. The most notable event of the reign however was the removal of the Paliyat Acchan from the prime-ministership of the State. The senior Acchan of this period, Ittinikumaran by name, was a haughty and arrogant chief, and did several high-handed deeds. In the late reign he killed the Dutch Company's chief merchant Mala Pai for some trifling reason, which alienated the Dutch from him. But they did not take any action against him at the time as the Raja also was hostile to them. In the present reign, the courtiers easily succeeded in turning the Raja against his haughty minister, and with the concurrence and support of the Governor, he was removed from his high position. The Acchan's Nayars resented their master's degradation, and showed their resentment by many acts of aggression; they became quiet only after a large number of them were slain. The Acchan retired with his followers to his fort at Chennamangalam, where he was too strong to be molested; but all his possessions outside Chennamangalam were confiscated. He did not long survive his deposition, and his successor Ittinnan Acchan succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with the Raja before the latter's death in 1731 at Irinjala-kuda. He apologised and paid a large fine for the misdeeds of his predecessor, and was restored to all the possessions and dignities of his ancestors.

The next king Rama Varma is represented by tradition and popular tales as a mild and benevolent ruler, who lived a

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Ravi Varma's successor.

* The Kartas or Kaimals of Kodasseri, Changarankota, Changarankanda and Kunnatteri and the Nambiyars of Muriyanad and Velosnad ruled over the present Taluk of Mukundapuram, which was then called *Arunad* (aggregate of six *nads*). They used to be known as Arunattil Prabhukanmar, or the lords of Arunad. Koratti Kaimal ruled over the *nad* lying between Arunad and Alangad.

CHAPTER II.—DUTCH SUPREMACY. simple life and was a father to his people, universally loved and respected. But Stein Van Gollennesse, who was the Governor of Cochin during eight years of his reign, represents him as a “dull, grasping and fickle prince”, but “good-natured”. He was, in his opinion, “unfit to rule and allowed himself to be led by his favourites”. He was extortionate and oppressive, and Van Gollennesse had often to oppose him and “take the side of the wronged party in order to prevent many calamities and complications”. “The Angia Caimals* were oppressed most of all, because they live in the centre of his territories and right opposite his palace on the other side of the river; but it is for this very reason that they ought to be protected by the Honorable Company against the greediness of the king.” The Council of Batavia had consequently to order a special police to be stationed in the bazaar at Ernakulam for their protection. Van Gollennesse advised them to show their teeth occasionally, taking care that right was on their side, as did the Muriyanad Nambiyar and Kodasseri Kaimal, “two powerful landed proprietors of the king, who, being tired of his extortions, sent home the king’s messengers, or rather marauders, with bleeding heads; by this they incurred the great hatred of the grasping king; however, since that time, they were living unmolested”. Such exactions drove some of the chiefs to the Zamorin’s side, notably the Talapilli Rajas and the Manakot Nayar.

The rise of
Travancore.

In this reign Travancore and Cochin took the field against each other for the first time known to history, though the Cochin forces took part in the war only as auxiliaries of the Dutch. As early as 1721, the Supreme Government of Batavia ordered that, as the expenses of the Cochin command exceeded the receipts, the Dutch in Cochin should desist from keeping up a continual warfare and that they should endeavour to live peaceably with their neighbours and not intervene in the quarrels of the native chiefs. This advice was more easily given from a distance than carried out on the spot. The Dutch however succeeded in living up to this ideal for some time, but the growing power of Travancore and the threatened annexation of States in alliance with the Dutch rendered armed intervention necessary about the year 1740. The Government of Travancore, enfeebled by the rule of a succession of weak

* Anchi Kaimals or five Kaimals or lords, the chief of whom was the Cheranelur Karta. They ruled over Ernakulam and the territories to the north and east of it.

princes and the turbulence of the Ettuvittil Pillamars and other refractory chiefs, at last fell into the vigorous hands of the famous king Martanda Varma. With the help of a body of troops lent by the Nayak of Madura, he succeeded in the early years of his reign in extirpating his turbulent chieftains and establishing himself securely on the throne of Travancore. He next turned his attention to the extension of his dominions, and began it by amalgamating Attungal with Travancore. He then conquered and annexed Desinganad (Singnatty) and Elayadath Svarupam, both ruled by collateral branches of the Venad (Travancore) family; and carried the war to Kayankulam for the attempt made by the latter to re-instate the Desinganad prince. About this time (1739) Van Imhoff, Governor of Ceylon, came to Cochin to examine into and report on the Company's accounts and heard of the increased and constantly increasing power of Travancore. He reported to Batavia that it was necessary to take immediate steps to curb that power as much to maintain a due balance among the native powers of Malabar as to chastise the Travancore Raja for his overweening attitude towards the Dutch. Upon this, the authorities in Cochin, without waiting to receive orders or reinforcements from Batavia and without adequate means, plunged into hostilities with Travancore.

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DUTCH SUPREMACY.

On the annexation of Elayadattunad, the members of the ruling family were kept in confinement, but one of the princesses managed to make her escape to Tekkumkur. The cause of this princess was taken up by the Dutch and a protest sent to Travancore against the annexation of her State. The protest being unheeded, the Dutch forcibly installed the princess in 1741 as regent of the kingdom, whereupon Travancore took the field forthwith. It is not necessary for our purpose to enter into the details of this war. At first the Dutch were generally successful in the campaign, but as their means were very limited and as they did not get adequate support from their allies, the fortunes of war soon changed, and the Travancoreans were left masters of the field. The princess fled for refuge to Cochin, and afterwards stayed at Karapuram, where the Dutch settled on her a daily pension of 25 fanams. When the war was declared, the Dutch Governor asked the Raja of Cochin for assistance. Resenting as he did the support given by the Dutch to his chiefs against him and having no quarrel with Travancore, the Raja was very reluctant to accede to this request, but as he had to respect treaty obligations, he sent a

The Dutch
war with
Travancore.

CHAPTER II. DUTCH SUPREMACY. detachment of Nayars to assist the Dutch. At an early stage of the campaign, the Dutch army, notwithstanding the repeated protests of Cochin, plundered and desecrated some Hindu temples in Travancore, and some time later they proposed to make a dash at Nedumpuram, where some Travancore princesses were staying, and to take them prisoners. This was strongly objected to by Cochin as being against the custom of the country, and when no attention was paid to this protest, the Raja peremptorily ordered the withdrawal of his forces, and Cochin took no further part in the war.

Conclusion
of peace.

The war was concluded by a treaty of peace between the Dutch and Travancore, which was as humiliating to the former as it was disastrous to some of the Malabar powers. The negotiations for peace lasted a long time, so that the treaty was finally approved only in 1748 and its final ratification took another five years. The most important condition of the treaty, however, the one on which Travancore insisted from the very beginning and which was practically acted upon by the Dutch ever since the negotiations began in 1743, was, "that the Company shall give up all the alliance with the other kings and chiefs of Malabar with whom His Highness would desire to wage war, and shall not interfere in this in any respect and give to them any shelter, nor oppose His Highness' enterprises." The Company however tried at the time "to exclude from the neutrality the King of Cochin on account of his being our first and oldest ally and also on account of his being our nearest neighbour, and to stipulate that His Highness should leave him in the possession of his States and territories, but all their efforts in this proposal failed. They had to be satisfied with oral promises that Travancore would treat the King of Cochin as a friend as long as he did not give cause to His Highness to change his behaviour towards him, that is to say, as long as it pleased him." On being thus thrown over by his allies, * the Raja of Cochin, "with the greatest regret in the world" sent a strong protest to the Batavia Council against this treaty, which had "sacrificed us, an old friend and ally; besides other Malabar kings, and broken all contracts. When from the very beginning our ancestors tried to bring some kings under their sway and obedience, the Honorable Company

* Even after this, Dutch writers are fond of enlarging on their favourite theme, "the faithlessness of Malabar kings."

continuously interfered; by observing this rule, this kingdom got divided in so many parts and has therefore become unable to check its powerful enemies. * * Now that the King of Travancore has become a powerful king, he has been able to coax the Honorable Company under promise to observe everything, by means of which he bids fair to bring the other kings under his sway. But we believe that he will shortly try to subjugate the Honorable Company also, and we doubt very much that he will be of assistance to it in making good profits, and besides, it will have to put up with all kinds of affronts in one way or another." This prophecy was fulfilled almost to the letter. The condition of the treaty which secured this neutrality was the one by which the Raja engaged to supply to the Dutch every year 3,000 candies of pepper produced in his State at Rs. 65 per candy with any other produce the State yielded, and 2,000 candies out of any *territories to be conquered* at Rs. 55 per candy. The full quantity according to this agreement was never supplied by the Raja, and after the Travancore frontiers had advanced as far as Cochin, he turned on the Dutch and repudiated his obligations, telling them that they were no longer a sovereign power and that, if they required spices, they should, like other traders, purchase them in the bazaar at the market rates. The Dutch retained Cochin for nearly half a century more, but since this treaty they were no longer the predominant factor in Malabar politics.*

The enterprising and ambitious King of Travancore lost no time in taking advantage of the neutrality of the Dutch. With a large standing army, the first of its kind in any Malabar State, which was organised and disciplined by a Flemish Captain, Eustachius D'Lannoy, who was formerly in the Dutch

COCHIN
BETWEEN
TWO FIRES.†
Travancore
and Cochin.

* The Dutch realised their mistake when it was too late. Twenty-eight years after this treaty was concluded, Adrain Van Moens, then Governor of Cochin, wrote thus :—"It would, however, be more desirable that Travancore had not become so exceedingly large and Cochin so small as they are at present in order to keep the latter as a balance to the former. Indeed, no ruler would do better or be more suitable than the King of Cochin. He is our oldest ally and sufficiently imbued with our principles; his territory is near at hand and, as it were, within reach of our guns; he has even with us a share in the taxes of the town; was faithful to the Company when Cochin was taken; and even ran the risk of getting completely ruined.

† The authorities for this period are: (1) the *Memoirs of Van Gollennesse and Van Moens*, (2) the *Cochin State Grandharis*, and (3) *Day's Land of the Perumals*.

CHAPTER II. COCHIN BETWEEN TWO FIRES. Company's service, he conquered and annexed Kayankulam in 1746, Porakad (which was tributary to Cochin) in 1748, and Tekkumkur in 1750, and carried his victorious arms to the frontiers of Cochin. The latter kingdom was far from being in a position to arrest his progress. Raja Rama Varma died at Kurikad early in 1746, and was succeeded by his brother Virakerala Varma, who was, according to Van Gollennesse, "like his predecessor both in years and in defects". He reigned only for four years and was succeeded in 1750 by his nephew Rama Varma. This prince, before his succession, gave much trouble to his immediate predecessors by his turbulent and insubordinate conduct, and the Dutch had once to send a company of lascars to restrain him. Writing in 1743, Van Gollennesse says, "This prince is very loose and dissolute, and brings a great deal of unrest upon the country by his excesses". It was during the reign of this prince that Cochin was placed between two fires—the Zamorin attacking it from the north and Travancore from the south. To command success in the Malabar States of those days, either the king should have supreme power in the State like Martanda Varma, who made himself supreme in Travancore by crushing the power of his chiefs, or he should have the cordial and loyal support of his chiefs, as did the Zamorins, who won their attachment by treating them with consideration and respecting their privileges. But in Cochin the chiefs were alienated by continued ill-treatment for over fifty years, and some of them were often driven to set the king's authority at defiance, while the Dutch interfered and frustrated every attempt on the part of the Raja to cripple the power of individual chiefs. It is no wonder therefore that the State was brought to the verge of extinction by its inherent weakness when it was threatened by a formidable danger from outside.

The Chazhur
dispute.

Raja Martanda Varma was watching for a pretext to interfere in the affairs of Cochin, and one presented itself at this time without his seeking. It will be remembered that, some time after the succession to the throne was limited to the Elaya Tavazhi branch, the eldest member of the joint royal family, if senior in age to the reigning prince, was allowed to assume the title and dignities of Perumpaduppu Muppu. During the reign of Raja Rama Varma (1698-1722), himself an adoptee from the Chazhur branch, the then Muppu, who belonged to the samé branch, was prevailed upon to relinquish this rank on his own behalf and that of his successors, in consideration of

which the Raja settled upon that family all the wealth he had accumulated. This arrangement was acquiesced in by the Chazhur Tambans, or princes, for over fifty years, but with the accession to the musnad of the present Raja who was junior in age to some of the Tambans, they began to agitate for the revival of the title. This proposal was peremptorily vetoed by the Raja, upon which they appealed to the formidable Martanda Varma to intercede on their behalf. That prince, declining the offers of mediation made by the Dutch, marched an army to Karapuram in 1752, and easily vanquished the small Cochin force that was stationed there. The title of Perumpaduppu Muppu was revived and Karapuram was settled upon the Chazhur Tambans, who had defrayed the cost of the expedition. The senior Tamban was to administer the tract as feudatory to Travancore.

A conference was held at Mavelikara in August 1753 for the ratification of the Dutch treaty, at which the two Rajas were also present. When the Dutch, as we have seen, threw over the Raja of Cochin and left him to make what terms he could, the two princes agreed to conclude a treaty of perpetual friendship, and an agreement was actually drawn up with that object, the conditions of which were more favourable to Cochin than those of the treaty concluded four years later. But the parties wrangled over some minor conditions such as the one relating to the Chazhur Tambans, and the conference consequently broke up in open enmity rather than in perpetual friendship. When after this abortive negotiation the chiefs of Vadakkumkur and Porakad applied to the Raja for assistance to throw off the Travancore yoke, the latter, though not sanguine of success, readily acceded to their request, and raised as large an army as circumstances then permitted with a view to wrest Karapuram and Porakad from Travancore. Several thousand Nayars were accordingly assembled by the Raja's Karyakars in Mattancheri and Pallurutti, where they were joined by the militia of the Paliyat Acchan and other chiefs and by some disaffected Nayars of Kayankulam and other States which were recently annexed by Travancore. The whole army was placed under the command of Palliyil Idikkela Menon, an able administrator and a gallant soldier.

Peace negotiations.

A detachment of the army marched through Karapuram, while the main body embarked by boat and landed at Porakad about the end of December 1753. They took up their position

The campaign in Porakad,

CHAPTER II. at Anandeswaram and entrenched themselves behind stockades.
 COCHIN Meanwhile, the Travancore forces under Prince Rama Varma, De-
 BETWEEN lava Ramayyan, and Captain D'Lannoy were already in motion,
 TWO FIRES. the Dutch having given secret information to Travancore re-
 garding the preparations that Cochin had been making. The
 two armies came to close quarters at Anandeswaram on the 3rd
 January, and a long and bloody engagement took place. Both
 sides lost heavily, the losses of Cochin being far heavier. Her
 army, lacking cohesion and defective in discipline, was no match
 for D'Lannoy's well-organised force, but owing to the former's
 superiority in numbers, Travancore was not able to achieve a
 decisive victory. Towards evening, the Cochin army withdrew
 to Ambalapuzha, and the Travancore generals waited for the
 arrival of their cavalry to renew the engagement. When the
 cavalry arrived, the army marched to Ambalapuzha, where the
 Cochin forces, of which cavalry formed no part, met them. The
 contest was short, and ended in the complete defeat of Cochin.
 The Travancore horse poured in by their right and took up its
 position in the rear: a simultaneous charge from the front
 and the rear threw the Cochin army into irretrievable confu-
 sion. A large number were slain, and most of the survivors
 were taken prisoners. Among the latter were Idikkela Menon
 himself, Paliyat Komi Acchan, the Changanankota Kaimal, the
 fifth Kaimal of Kodasseri, the third Kaimal of Panamukkat
 and Chiraman Unni of Tottasseri Talassannor's family. All
 but the first and the last were subsequently released on pay-
 ment of heavy ransoms, but Idikkela Menon and Chiraman
 Unni, who probably had not the means to pay the ransoms de-
 manded, were left to their fate and were eventually executed.*

The advance
 of Travancore.

After this victory, one division of the Travancore army
 under Ramayyan advanced to the north, and another division
 under Prince Rama Varma crossed over to the mainland and
 advanced to the north-east. No serious opposition was offered
 to either division. Ramayyan seized all the strongholds and
 made many prisoners on his way, and pitched his camp at

* Idikkela Menon was appointed Sarvadhikaryakar or chief minister when
 the Paliyat Acchan was removed from his ministership about 1725. Though
 his position was somewhat overshadowed by that of the Acchan when the latter
 was again taken into favour, he was retained in his high office till his death.
 He is looked upon as a national hero, and many popular tales are told about
 him. Successive Dutch Governors of Cochin have borne testimony to his high
 qualities.

Arukutti, while the prince took possession of all Cochin territory as far as Udayamperur in the south and Mamala in the east. At this stage, the Raja of Cochin again sued for peace, and the further advance of the Travancore army was accordingly countermanded to the great disgust of Ramayyan. As that army had now advanced dangerously near the Dutch possessions in Cochin, the Raja thought that the Dutch Company could be induced to join him against Travancore. With this view, he protracted the negotiations for peace and made repeated appeals to the Dutch authorities in Cochin and in Batavia for armed intervention on behalf of their old ally. But the Dutch turned a deaf ear to these appeals and counselled the amicable settlement of his differences with Travancore; and this advice was also strongly urged by the Paliyat Acchan in view of the complication created by the threatened advance of the Zamorin from the north. The Acchan even succeeded in inducing Raja Martanda Varma accompanied by his nephew to visit the Raja of Cochin at Tripunittura towards the close of 1756 to confer personally on the subject of the treaty, but the latter's rooted objection to the cession of territory, a condition insisted on by Travancore, again hampered the negotiations. On his return visit to Trivandrum, however, he was persuaded to agree to all the conditions, and the treaty was concluded on the 22nd January 1757. By this treaty the two Rajas agreed to live in friendship, forgetting all former discord, and not to give any support to each other's enemies. Cochin also agreed to cede the territories already conquered and occupied by Travancore, and to allow Travancore to purchase for ready money all the pepper produced in the country with the exception of 500 candies annually, which was required for its own use. The other conditions are not material to this narrative. The Chazhur princes, who had now ceased to be of any use to Travancore, were deprived of their sway over Karappuram, and ten years later, they were also made to relinquish their claim to the title of Perumpaduppu Muppu.

The Paliyat Acchan, who took the lead in negotiating this treaty, played a conspicuous part in the history of Cochin for over a quarter of a century. He received his baptism of fire at a very early age, for, when a mere lad of sixteen, he accompanied the Cochin force that took part in the Dutch war with Travancore in its earlier stages. He succeeded to his title and the prime ministership when he was only twenty. As a

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Komi
Acchan.

CHAPTER II. prisoner of war, he spent some time in Trivandrum, and during
COCHIN his enforced stay there, he had several interviews with the
BETWEEN Maharaja and the heir apparent. A brave, dashing and shrewd
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young man of engaging manners and a handsome presence, he made a very favourable impression on them, and the prince, especially, who succeeded to the throne of Travancore in 1758, treated him with marked favour and distinction throughout his life. His personal observations enabled him to realise better than any one else in Cochin the nature of the new born power of Travancore, and he persistently advocated an offensive and defensive alliance with her as the best means of securing the State against the incursions of the Zamorin, now that the Dutch had withdrawn from their engagements with Cochin. But the Raja's faith in the Dutch was destined to die hard. He still thought that the Dutch would assist him against the Zamorin as they were not restrained by treaty obligations from doing so, especially in view of the disturbances that the Zamorin had begun to create in the island of Chetva. All that he could with difficulty be brought to agree to therefore was a treaty of friendship with Travancore.

The Zamorin's invasion.

While Travancore was extending her dominions in the south, the Zamorin was similarly engaged in the north. Between 1755 and 1757, he defeated the Rajas of Walluvanad and Palghat, and annexed portions of their territories. About the same time he advanced to Chetva along the coast, drove in the Dutch out-posts, possessed himself of the whole island except the Cranganur fort, and fortified Pappinivattam and Pulikara. He then proceeded to invade Cochin from several points simultaneously, and this he was enabled to accomplish successfully by the action of the traitorous chiefs of Cochin. Towards the end of 1756, the Zamorin advanced with a large army from Cranganur to Parur and Alangad, when the chiefs of these two States submitted to the invader without striking a blow. He established military stations at Alway, Varapoly, Manjummal, Kotad, Chattanad and other places, and appointed Karyakars to administer the tracts occupied by him. About the same time, he crossed over from Chetva to Enamakal and attacked the fort there, which had a strong garrison and twenty-four pieces of artillery for its defence, but the chief who commanded the garrison surrendered the fort without firing a shot. From Enamakal he marched to Trichur and after overcoming the slight resistance offered there, made it his head quarters in

Cochin. Changarankanda Kaimal, Chittur Namburipad and Velosnad Nambiyar had always been partial to the Zamorin; they now cordially welcomed him to Urakam, Arattupuzha and Mapranam, whither the other five chiefs of Arunad or Mukundapuram hastened to make their submission. A division of his army attacked Ayirunad or Manakot from the north, and after a short resistance captured the Paliyat Acchan's fortress at Mullurkara. The Talapilli Rajas, the Chengazhi Nambiyars and some other smaller chiefs now accepted the Zamorin as their suzerain, and their example was followed by the Kodakara Nayar and other eastern chiefs. Early in 1758, the Zamorin's forces attacked Chennamangalam from Parur and Cranganur and occupied and plundered the island after overcoming the local militia, the Acchan's family retiring to their place in Vaipin. Never had the fortunes of Cochin been at such a low ebb since the time of Pacheco. The major portion of the present Kanayanur-Cochin Taluk and a small portion of the Trichur Taluk were all that now remained to her, and the Paliyat Acchan, the Cheranellur Karta and the other lords of Anjikaimal were the only notable chiefs that still adhered to the Raja's fortunes. Indeed, when Chennamangalam was attacked, some members of the Paliyat family strongly urged the advisability of following the example of their confreres in the north, and one of them actually went over to the Zamorin. But Komi Acchan scouted this advice, and discarded and disowned his renegade nephew.

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Even in this desperate situation, Cochin did not remain altogether idle. Frequent skirmishes took place between small parties of Cochin and Calicut people, but though Cochin had the best of it in several of these encounters, the Zamorin's position in the country was not seriously shaken at any time. Early in 1758 the Dutch received reinforcements from Ceylon, upon which they requested the Raja to join forces with them to expel the Zamorin from the country. Accordingly, the Elaya Raja and the Paliyat Acchan proceeded to Tiruvanchikulam with such forces as were then at their disposal, and there they were joined by the Dutch. In February they attacked the outposts in Madilakam and inflicted severe losses on the enemy, but towards evening they retired to their respective camps at Tiruvanchikulam and Cranganur. At night the Zamorin's ministers visited the Dutch Commander in the Cranganur fort and agreed to give up the conquests in the Chetva island, if the Dutch would cease from further hostilities. The Commander agreed to this and quietly withdrew his men to Cochin before

Fights with
the Zamo-
rin's men.

CHAPTER II. day-break without giving the slightest notice to the Cochin
COCHIN leaders, who became aware of this defection only the next
BETWEEN day. Not being in sufficient force to maintain his position
TWO FIRES. in the midst of the enemy's forces, the Elaya Raja retired with
his men to Ernakulam. In the following May, the Zamorin
died at Trichur, and his successor reduced the strength of the
garrison of that town. Taking advantage of the reduction, the
Elaya Raja and the Acchan fell upon the Zamorin's men with
a stronger force, and after a severe engagement in the grounds
surrounding the palace, dislodged them from the place and re-
gained possession of Trichur and the surrounding country. But
in a few months the Zamorin collected a large army at Ena-
makal and advanced to Trichur, whereupon the Elaya Raja had
to retreat with his men to Kumarapuram. These incidents are
mentioned as typical of the guerrilla warfare that was kept up
for a number of years and of the temporary successes occasional-
ly achieved by Cochin. All the while, however, the Zamorin
retained his position practically unshaken for over five years.

New treaty
with Travancore.

Matters stood thus till the Raja's death, which took place
in Mattancheri in August 1760. His successor Virakerala
Varma readily listened to the proposals for a closer alliance
with Travancore, which were repeatedly made without success
in the previous reign, and Komi Acchan accordingly proceeded
to Trivandrum to discuss the terms of a fresh treaty with that
State. The discussion was necessarily a prolonged one, and
it was only at the end of 1761 that the conditions provisionally
agreed to by the Acchan were finally accepted. In this treaty,
the terms of the previous one were re-affirmed, and it was fur-
ther agreed that Travancore should assist Cochin in recovering
her possessions as far as Pukkaita in the north and Chittar in
the east, and also certain villages in Walluvanad, and that
Cochin should cede to Travancore the tributary districts of
Parur and Alangad, and make over half the income of the re-
conquered territory for defraying the expenses of the army so
long as the campaign lasted. It was also provided that, should
Travancore succeed in taking from the Zamorin any territories
beyond those wrested from Cochin, they should belong ex-
clusively to Travancore. The Dutch authorities in Cochin tried
every means to prevent this treaty being concluded, not so much
from any ill-will towards Cochin as from the fear that the fur-
ther increase in the power and influence of Travancore, which
would result from her success over the Zamorin, would prove
injurious to their own interests.

In pursuance of this treaty, Travancore despatched a strong force under the command of Delava Martanda Pillai and General D'Lannoy, which landed at Ernakulam towards the end of January 1762, and was there joined by the Cochin army. Early in March the combined army marched in two divisions to attack the Zamorin's forces stationed in Parur and Alangad, but the latter abandoned their paggers in these districts without striking a blow and retreated to Cranganur and Mapranam. The division under Martanda Pillai fell upon the Zamorin's men in Mapranam and pursued them to Trichur, where they were attacked in the front by the Travancoreans and in the rear by a body of men from Kavalapara and Perattuvithi, the best fighters in Cochin at the time. The Calicut force suffered heavily in the fight at Trichur, and fled precipitately to their fortified stations in Kunnamkulam and Chelakara. In the meantime, the division under D'Lannoy dislodged the Zamorin's men from Cranganur and pursued them beyond the Chetva river, and marching to Trichur by way of Enamakal, found the place already in the occupation of Martanda Pillai. The combined army then advanced to Chelakara and, after a severe engagement, drove the Zamorin's men beyond the northern frontier of Cochin. From Chelakara they marched to Kunnamkulam, whereupon the Calicut force stationed there retreated to Ponnani. D'Lannoy now proposed to carry the war into the enemy's territory, but the Zamorin becoming alarmed for the safety of his country sued for peace. The resistance offered by the Zamorin's forces was unexpectedly slight, and the whole campaign lasted only eight months including the interruptions due to the monsoon. All the conditions of the treaty between the two States were satisfactorily fulfilled by the respective parties in the course of another year, except that the Zamorin still remained in possession of Perumpaduppu and other Cochin villages in Vanneri, and the Travancore army withdrew from Cochin early in 1764. The Raja of Cochin was so pleased with the conduct and services of Martanda Pillai that he bestowed upon him the village of Puttanchira, which with rare patriotism the great minister made over to his country. A treaty of peace was concluded with the Zamorin, by which he agreed to pay a war indemnity to Travancore and to desist from hostilities against Cochin in future.

After the campaign against the Zamorin, D'Lannoy, who was also a proficient in military engineering, suggested the desirability of having a barrier constructed at the northern

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frontier to prevent the future advance of the Zamorin or any other enemies. The invasion of Travancore and Cochin by Haidar Ali had by this time become a dreaded probability of the near future. The Raja of Travancore therefore repaired to Annamanada to inspect the site of the proposed work and to confer with the Raja of Cochin on the subject. As the barrier was intended as much for the protection of Cochin as that of Travancore, the Raja readily agreed not only to the fort being constructed mainly in Cochin territory but also to bear a portion of the cost of construction. Thus was built, under the supervision of D'Lannoy, the famous fort locally known as *Nedumkotta*, or long fort, and known to history as the Travancore lines. These lines were considerably improved in subsequent years when Haidar threatened to invade Travancore and Tipu actually did it. George Powney, the Company's Resident in Travancore, thus describes the lines as he saw them in 1790* :—
“ They run from west to east, commencing at the sea on the island of Vaipin, and continue to a broad river called Chinnamungalam, on the opposite bank of which they begin again, and extend to the Annimally or Elephant mountains, where they terminate upon the top of one of them. From the sea to the Chinnamungalam river, as the lines run, is an extent of four or five miles ; and from the opposite bank, where they take up again, to their extremity at the mountain, is about 24 or 25 miles. The lines consist of a ditch, about 16 feet broad and 20 deep, with a thick bamboo hedge in it, a flight parapet, and good rampart and bastions on rising grounds, almost flanking each other. From one extreme of the lines to the other they are only assailable by regular approaches from the north. ”

Treatment
of the chiefs.

The rapid rise of Travancore to power under Martanda Varma proved an object lesson to Cochin. She now realised that her weakness was due to the diffusion of power among a number of hereditary chiefs instead of its being concentrated in the head of the State. In the treaty of 1761, therefore, a condition was inserted, by which Travancore agreed to assist Cochin to put down the power of the chiefs in general and to punish the traitorous ones in particular. Accordingly, soon after the expulsion of the Zamorin, all administrative powers were taken away from the chiefs and vested in officers appointed by the king. The recalcitrant chiefs were then dealt with one by

* Letter to the Governor of Madras dated 17th February 1790.

one according to the nature of their offence. The worst offenders, like the Nambiyars of Muriyanad and Velosnad, were deprived of all their possessions and reduced to beggary, while the others, like the Talapilli Rajas and Koratti Kaimal, were made to relinquish portions of their estates in varying proportions according to the extent of their guilt or, more probably, the king's pleasure. These relinquishments were made in writing, and appear as if they were made voluntarily from a consciousness of their guilt.* A large proportion of *Pandara-vaka* lands, or lands held by the State in *janmam*, had their origin in these confiscations.

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A new system of administration was introduced in the place of the feudal system which had hitherto been in force. The State, which had hitherto been divided into *nads*, each under a chief, was now divided into ten *Kovilakattumvatukkals*, or Taluks, each of which was placed under a Karyakar, who exercised both judicial and executive functions. The Taluks were further subdivided into *Pravrittis*, which formed the units of administration and were presided over by Parvatyakarans, assisted by Menons or accountants and Chantrakarans or cash-keepers. The Taluks were grouped under two divisions, the *Vadakke-mukham* and the *Tekke-mukham*, or the northern and the southern divisions, each under a Sarvadhikaryakar, the head of the administration being the Valiya Sarvadhikaryakar or prime minister. For military purposes, a standing army was organised on the model of D'Lannoy's corps in Travancore; the men were regularly drilled by Dutch officers and were put in uniforms similar to those used by the native troops under the Dutch Company. The Valiya Sarvadhikaryakar was also the head of the army, and had two commandants and a number of captains under him. These changes necessitated a larger annual expenditure than could be provided for from the existing sources of revenue, and to meet this additional expenditure a regular land tax began to be levied in 1763. The rates of assessment then introduced and the mode of fixing them are dealt with elsewhere. †

Administrative changes.

Now that quiet was restored to the country and the king's authority finally established, troubles began to come from an unexpected quarter. In 1769, C. L. Senff, who appears to

Troubles with the Dutch.

* The guilt is quaintly described in these documents as "the crime of having fired at the umbrella (held) by the sacred hands of your Highness", umbrella being the emblem of protection.

† Chapter X, *History of Land Revenue Administration*.

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have been a vain, arrogant and tactless man, succeeded to the Governorship of Cochin. Travancore was then building a fort at Kuriyapilli opposite Pallipuram, and though the work was begun with the approval of his predecessor, Senff took it into his head to object to it for some unexplained reasons. He sent a detachment of 60 Dutch and 300 native troops to stop the work, and when the Travancore commandant refused to obey the injunction, the Dutch force shot him dead, climbed over the half finished walls and attacked the garrison. But they met more than their match, and had to retreat precipitately with the loss of 36 men, among whom was the officer commanding the force. On this unprovoked affront, Travancore prepared for war, but it was averted by the friendly intervention of the Raja of Cochin; Senff pretended that his subordinate went beyond his instructions and apologised for the affront offered. The Raja received the thanks of the supreme Government of Batavia for his good offices, but his action seems to have had quite a different effect on the splenetic Governor. Mattancheri, Chellayi and Amaravati, places adjoining the Dutch town, had always been treated as Cochin territory, though the Dutch exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Christians, Konkani Vaniyans and Tattans inhabiting these places. Soon after the Kuriyapilli incident, Senff chose to repudiate the claims of Cochin to levy tolls and customs there, and promulgated an edict abrogating what he was pleased to call the fictitious rights of Cochin. Cochin retaliated by constructing a fort opposite Cochin and applying to Travancore for help against the Dutch, but the Dutch promptly planted their colours on the walls of the fort as soon as it was finished. Cochin did nothing important in those days without consulting Travancore, and as the result of one of these consultations the two Rajas sent strong representations to Batavia against the action of the Governor. In the meantime, some skirmishes took place between the Dutch and the Cochinites, especially in the island of Vaipin, and Travancore secretly despatched 1,500 men to help Cochin. War now became imminent, but it was averted by the timely intervention of the Government of Batavia, which recalled Senff and appointed in his place Adrian Van Moens, who proved one of the ablest Dutch Governors of Cochin. The latter promptly settled the dispute amicably, and conceded to Cochin "the right of collecting the income from Mattancheri and Chellayi, to collect the farms and customs of Amaravati and to conduct the affairs of Mattancheri, Chellayi

and of the Konkanis and their temple". It was however stipulated " that the Raja shall impose no new demands upon the Konkanis, that they shall have full liberty to complain to the Dutch Governor, if aggrieved, and that the Raja shall not interfere in any matters of the temple without the knowledge and consent of the Company."

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We have seen that in 1756-7 the Zamorin invaded the Palghat Raja's dominions and annexed a portion of his territory. The Raja in this extremity applied to Haidar Ali, then Foudjar of Dindigal, for assistance, and the latter replied by sending a large force under his brother-in-law Makhdum Ali. But the Zamorin bought him off by undertaking to restore his conquests in Palghat and to pay an indemnity of twelve lakhs of rupees. He did not however pay the indemnity, and Haidar, when his plans were ripe, enforced his claim by invading Malabar. He crossed the northern frontier in February 1766 and occupied North Malabar after a hard struggle, but Calicut was occupied without a blow being struck in its defence. On the approach of the monsoon, Haidar retired to Coimbatore, leaving 8,000 men behind him to overawe Malabar, but his departure was the signal for a general revolt. Haidar thereupon hastened back to Malabar and quelled the revolt completely by taking the most violent measures. At this time, Haidar not only left Cochin unmolested, but appeared disposed to treat her with mildness and consideration. Naludesam and Kodakaranad (the present Taluk of Chittur) were surrounded by the Palghat Raja's territory and were at first looked upon as part of it by Haidar. The Raja of Cochin sent two Karyakars to him to point out this mistake and also to inform him that Mysore and Cochin had always been friendly towards each other and that he hoped that Haidar would continue to show the same kindly regard for Cochin that his predecessors did. That potentage received the ambassadors graciously, assured them of his friendly regard for Cochin, and ordered the restoration of the above isolated tracts to the latter.

Haidar's
invasion of
Malabar.

For the next few years Haidar was engaged in a struggle for life on the other side of the ghats, taking advantage of which the Malabar chiefs re-possessioned themselves of their territories. But in 1773 Haidar's army again descended on Malabar, and took possession of the country without encountering any serious opposition. Srinivasa Row, the Commander of this army, who was appointed Foudjar or Military Governor of Malabar, with Sirdar Khan as his assistant, now demanded

Cochin made
tributary
to Haidar.

* The authorities for this period are : (1) Wilk's *History of Mysore*; (2) *Memoirs of Adrian Van Moens*; (3) Day's *Land of the Perumals*; (4) Mill's *History of India*; (5) Mackenzie's *War with Tippu*; and (6) The Cochin *Grandhararis*.

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MYSOREAN as a subsidy or, as it was euphemistically expressed, a contri-
SUPREMACY. bution for war expenses. The demand was soon confirmed by
 ——— a *farman* from the Nawab, and the Raja, not wishing to share
 the fate of the Zamorin and other chiefs, readily agreed to pay
 the contribution. No further demand was made for the next
 three years, but about the middle of 1776 a dispute arose re-
 garding a tract of territory known as Talapilli Melvattam.*
 Srinivasa Row treated it as part of the Zamorin's territory
 and demanded payment of the revenue realised by Cochin
 during the previous years. As this tract was really Cochin
 territory, she objected to the payment and prepared to argue
 the point, when the Foudjar set Sirdar Khan in motion at the
 head of 10,000 men to bring her to reason. Sirdar Khan march-
 ed from Chavakad by way of Kunnamkulam and reached Tri-
 chur on the 18th September 1776, when Cochin yielded with-
 out a struggle. The Mysore General promised immunity from
 annexation if Cochin would agree to become tributary to Hai-
 dar and to pay a nuzzar of two lakhs of pagodas and eight ele-
 phants at once and an annual tribute of fifty thousand pagodas
 from the next year forwards. As the amounts demanded were
 too large for the resources of the State, the Raja asked for time
 to appeal to Haidar, and Sirdar Khan, agreeing to this, pitched
 his camp in the grounds adjoining the temple and the palace in
 Trichur. Komi Acchan and Iswara Pattar Karyakar were
 accordingly sent as envoys to Seringapatam, and on their
 representation, Haidar agreed to reduce the nuzzar to a lakh of
 pagodas and four elephants and the tribute to thirty thousand
 pagodas, inclusive of the nuzzar and tribute from Cranganur.
 Sirdar Khan accordingly withdrew his forces from Trichur on
 the 8th October and marched to Chetva to attack the Dutch.†

* This comprises the present Desams of Vadutala, Kandanisseri, Artat, Anjur, Kattampala, Kadavallur, Korattikara, etc., all on the western borders of the Talapilli Taluk.

† When the Mysore army was on its march to Trichur, the priests of the great temple and the Swamiyars of the Mutts in that town locked up the sacred buildings and fled to Chennamangalam for refuge. Though the Mysore soldiers plundered and desecrated temples and pillaged houses for miles outside Trichur, no acts of violence or sacrilege were perpetrated within the town. When the priests and Swamiyars returned after Sirdar Khan's departure, they found everything in tact. The temple chronicler notes with considerable surprise that not only were the places of worship not pillaged and defiled, as was anticipated, but not a single door was found unlocked by the enemy. Among the scouts that accompanied this army was an ex-Swamiyar of one of the Trichur Mutts, who had some time previously been driven out of caste for misconduct. He became a *Muhammadian* and attached himself to Sirdar Khan's army as a scout.

When Haidar first invaded Malabar, two Dutch Commissioners met him at his request at Calicut. He proposed an offensive and defensive alliance with them, and also promised that he would not molest their allies, the Rajas of Travancore and Cochin, if the latter would contribute handsomely towards the expenses of his wars. When the Dutch communicated these proposals to the two princes, the Raja of Travancore, strong in the assurance of English support, said that he was already tributary to the Nawab of the Carnatic and that he could not afford to subsidize two suzerains at the same time, but that he would contribute a considerable sum, provided Haidar would re-instate the Zamorin and the Kolattiri. The Cochin Raja replied that he left his affairs in the hands of the Dutch, but trusted that they would try to get the Kolattiri and the Zamorin restored. As we have seen, the Raja acted at the same time independently of the Dutch, as he had little faith in them in those days; and well it was that he did so, for the Dutch for fear of offending Haidar did not communicate the princes' answers to him, but merely wrote to say that they had communicated his letters to Batavia, and to the Rajas of Travancore and Cochin. Haidar did not press the question of alliance with the Dutch for some years as he was fully engaged in his struggle with the English, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, but in 1776 when his hands were free, he asked for a safe passage through their territories for his long cherished purpose of attacking Travancore. The Governor replied that he could not allow it without instructions from Batavia and that he was awaiting them. Haidar very reasonably considered this as an evasion, since he could hardly believe that the Governor had been waiting ten years for an answer from Batavia. He therefore directed Sirdar Khan to attack the Dutch, and, as we have seen, he marched from Trichur with that object in October 1776. He overran the whole island of Chetva and drove the Dutch from their strongholds, but failed in his attempt to capture the Cranganur fort. The Dutch now made overtures to Travancore and Cochin to form a combination against Haidar, but they declined to be drawn into such an enterprise. Travancore had assistance promised by the English if she remained on the defensive, while Cochin was at peace with Haidar and had no reason to suspect any sinister designs against her on his part. In 1778, the Dutch planned an expedition to recover their lost ground, but though they met with some success in the beginning, the attempt ended in a disastrous failure. After this,

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they commenced cautiously to re-open the question of an offensive and defensive alliance with Haidar, but the latter not only refused to listen to their overtures, but made them understand that, as soon as he had leisure, he would turn his arms against them and drive them out of the country. They had no alternative now but to await the bursting of the threatened storm, and in the meantime to send competent persons to assist Travancore in examining and strengthening the lines.

Haidar's relation with Cochin.

After Cochin became tributary to him, Haidar generally treated her with friendly consideration. When the claims of Cochin to the Talapilli Melvattam tract, which provoked the invasion of the State by Sirdar Khan, were properly represented to Haidar, he readily ordered its restoration to Cochin, and this was afterwards confirmed by a formal farman from Tipu. Even the vexed question of Perumpaduppu and other villages in Vanneri, which had been out of Cochin's possession for over a century, was decided in her favour, when their importance to Cochin was brought to the notice of Haidar, but this concession does not seem to have been confirmed by Tipu. Since 1777, Cochin had to station a detachment of Nayars, 1,000 strong, at Calicut for the uncongenial task of assisting the Mysoreans to put down the disturbances caused by the Zamorin's Nayars, the cost of the detachment being allowed to be deducted from the tribute. When Sirdar Khan proceeded to besiege Tellichery in 1780, he wanted this contingent force to accompany him, but when Cochin objected to it on the ground that, as she had no quarrel with the English, she was reluctant to act offensively against them, Haidar allowed the objection. Haidar often wrote friendly letters to the Raja and sent him costly presents every year, the first of his presents being a pair of magnificent chargers and an ivory inlaid palanquin. With all this, her subjection to the Muhammadan usurper of Mysore was felt as an irksome burden by Cochin, mainly perhaps from a feeling of insecurity engendered by reports of Haidar's acts of relentless cruelty elsewhere.

Two deaths in Cochin.

Raja Rama Varma died in September 1775, a year before Cochin became tributary to Haidar and was succeeded by his brother Virakerala Varma. The deceased prince succeeded to a heritage of extraordinary trouble and difficulty, but he had neither the energy nor the decision of character required to deal with it successfully. He proved more a hindrance than a help to his ministers in pulling the State out of its troubles, and consequently in 1769 the Travancore Raja and the Dutch

Governor prevailed upon him to delegate his authority not to the Elaya Raja (heir apparent), who was like himself in most respects, but to the first prince (heir presumptive), who was then a young man of hardly twenty years of age. bold, active, energetic and ambitious. This prince ascended the musnad in 1790 and reigned till 1805, but he became the virtual ruler of the State in 1769. Another notable death about this period was that of the minister Komi Acchan, which took place in the year 1779. For over thirty years he worked and fought for his country, and in the active part he took in divesting the chiefs of their power he showed his disinterested patriotism in a conspicuous manner. That he was a remarkable man is shown by the fact, among others, that Nawab Haidar Ali and Governor Van Moens, differing in everything else, agreed in their estimate of his high qualities. On hearing of his death, Haidar wrote to the Raja that Komi Acchan administered the affairs of the State remarkably well and that, if the administration continued to be conducted in the same manner, His Highness could count upon his (Haidar's) support in all matters. Van Moens speaks of him as "a statesmanly man and full of plans to reinstate his king." Komi Acchan continued to be the chief minister even after the chiefs were deprived of their power, but on his death he was succeeded by one Govinda Menon as Valiya Sarvadhikaryakar, the hereditary premiership of the family having been abolished along with the administrative powers of the chiefs.

The treatment of Christians had always been a vexed question since the Portuguese took them under their protection. The older or St. Thomas Christians, as they are called, were entirely under the jurisdiction of the king and did not generally give more trouble than any other class of his subjects. But the later converts, the Latin Christians, were placed by the Portuguese and afterwards by the Dutch in such an anomalous position that it was almost impossible to avoid misunderstanding and conflict. While they were in reality the subjects of the Raja, they were not only under the protection but also under the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Dutch, and they were further required to pay only a moiety of the taxes payable by the Hindus, and no increased tax or new tax could be imposed on them without the approval of the Dutch. The inevitable consequence followed : low caste Hindu budmashes took refuge in Christianity to escape punishment for their crimes or payment of legitimate dues to Government. Some sensible governors handed over baptised

Troubles with
Christians.

CHAPTER II. criminals to the Raja's officers in order that it might not be
MYSOREAN considered that Christianity afforded a refuge from punishment
SUPREMACY. due to crimes ; and the rule regarding the payment of taxes
 was relaxed by agreement more than once. When a general
 land tax was imposed in 1763 and also when the rates were
 enhanced in 1776, the Dutch Government admitted the justice of
 native Christians contributing their share towards the expenses
 of the State. But accustomed as they were to immunity from
 payment for generations, they resented all such impositions not-
 withstanding the approval of the Dutch, and created disturbances
 when the tax-gatherers visited them. The situation was thus
 felt to be an intolerable one by the Hindu government, and it is
 no wonder therefore that the moment they found themselves in
 a position to mitigate or remove the anomaly, they attempted to
 do so. Prince Rama Varma, who had been the virtual ruler of
 Cochin since 1769, was determined to put down the arrogance
 of the Latin Christians and bring them under subjection, and
 during the thirty-six years he was in power, he persecuted them
 mercilessly, whenever he got an opportunity to do so. In 1785,
 however, the Dutch intervened on their behalf, and an agree-
 ment was entered into, by which the Christians were to pay
 taxes like other subjects of the king, but they were still to re-
 main under the jurisdiction of the Dutch. But the agreement
 was not long respected by the prince, who dispossessed several
 Latin Christians of their lands, and put to death or turned out
 of his dominions the more recalcitrant ones among them. At the
 same time he showed marked favour to the Syrian or St. Thomas
 Christians, who had always been a loyal and law-abiding com-
 munity. He gave them lands and settled them in the hearts of
 important towns like Trichur and Tripunitura : the subsequent
 growth and prosperity of these towns were in no small measure
 due to their industry and enterprise.

Tipu's
 designs on
 Travancore.

Tipu, who succeeded his father in December 1784, left
 Cochin unmolested in the early years of his reign. This tran-
 quillity, however, was of short duration and was destined to be
 rudely disturbed by his designs on Travancore and his persecu-
 tions in Malabar. Tipu's affairs were drifting into confusion
 in Malabar, and his Governor at Calicut besought him to come
 to that district to restore his shaken prestige. Accordingly, he
 proceeded to Malabar in April 1788 to restore order and to im-
 prove the morals and save the souls of the people. He asked
 the Raja of Cochin to meet him at Palghat, which he did on the
 26th May. The conquest of Travancore had been a long

cherished ambition of Tipu as it had been of his father in his time, but he could not act as principal in an invasion of that State, as in the treaty of Mangalore, by which his last war with the English was concluded, the Travancore Raja had been included as one of the "friends and allies" of the Company. He therefore tried to induce the Zamorin by the promise of restoration of a portion of his territory to put forward some antiquated claims to suzerainty over Travancore. The Zamorin refused to join in the scheme, and this led to the summons to the Raja of Cochin to meet him at Palghat. Tipu urged the Raja to put forward his claims to Parur and Alangad, which were once feudatory to Cochin, and, in the event of Travancore refusing to restore them, to declare war against that State, in which he could take part as the suzerain of Cochin. The Raja expressed his extreme reluctance to urge such untenable claims, but anxious to escape from his embarrassing situation, he offered his mediation with the Raja of Travancore and promised to put forth every effort to induce him to become a feudatory of the Sultan, if the latter would send envoys with a friendly letter to Travancore. Tipu appeared to be satisfied with this offer, and on his return to Cochin, the Raja met his brother of Travancore at Annamanada and gave him an account of his interview with the Tiger of Mysore. The Sultan's envoys were received by the Travancore Raja in the presence of Major Bannerman, an adviser sent by the Madras Government to Travancore, and were sent back with the reply that he could not enter into an alliance with Tipu without the knowledge and consent of his ally the British East India Company. This reply inflamed him all the more against Travancore.

His plans however were not yet ripe for the invasion of Travancore. He busied himself in the meantime with work of a more congenial nature, that of proselytism and social reform. He issued a proclamation to the people of Malabar, in which, after recounting their turbulent and refractory conduct and their sinful practices, he exhorted them to live like good subjects and to forsake their malpractices. "If you are disobedient to these commands", he continued, "I have made repeated vows to honour the whole of you with Islam, and to march all the chief persons to the seat of government". He carried out these repeated vows in no half-hearted manner. Early in 1789, orders were issued to the several detachments of his army in Malabar to honour with Islam every being in the district without distinction, to burn the houses of such as fled to avoid such honour and

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Tipu's persecutions.

CHAPTER II. effect their universal conversion by employing "all means of truth, falsehood, force or fraud". Two thousand Nayars in

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SUPREMACY.**

Kadattanad, who were forced to surrender after a resistance of several days, were at once circumcised and regaled with beef. Similar outrages were perpetrated throughout the district, and consequently most of the Rajas and richer landholders fled to Travancore, then the only asylum of safety, while the poorer Nayars retreated into the jungles. These atrocities decided Cochin to free herself from the yoke of Mysore, and towards the end of 1789 the Raja approached Mr. Powney, the Company's Agent in Travancore, with proposals for a subsidiary alliance with the English Company, but the treaty was finally concluded only after the English declared war against Tipu. Meanwhile Tipu again summoned the Raja to meet him at Palghat in June 1790, with the object, among others, of availing himself of the latter's name and services in his invasion of Travancore. But the Raja, with the examples of the forcible conversion of several Malabar chiefs before his eyes, excused himself on the ground of ill-health. Tipu, accepting the excuse, desired the Elaya Raja or a responsible minister to be sent to him, as he had important matters to discuss with him, and when this invitation also was declined, Tipu's suspicions of the Raja's fidelity were confirmed, and he began thenceforward to treat Cochin as an open enemy.

*Tipu's casus
belli against
Travancore.*

One of the objects of Tipu in inviting the Raja to meet him was to request the latter to negotiate the purchase of Cochin, Cranganur and Azhikotta (Ayacotta) from the Dutch, as it was rumoured that they were prepared to sell them. He now made the proposal direct to the Dutch, but he was anticipated by Travancore. The Dutch and Travancore consulted together on the best means of involving the English in the coming struggle, and the result was the sale by "the Illustrious and Mighty Netherlands East India Company" of the fort of Cranganur and the outpost of Azhikotta, which flanked the Travancore lines on the west, to "the Illustrious and Mighty King of Travancore, Wanje Walla Martanda Rama Varma". Tipu took objection to this sale and denied its validity on the ground that the lands on which these forts were built belonged in sovereignty to his tributary of Cochin, and he therefore demanded the withdrawal of the Travancore troops from Cranganur. He also demanded the demolition of the Travancore lines as they stood mostly in Cochin territory, and the surrender of the chieftains

of Malabar, "a set of thieves" who had taken refuge in Travancore "with tens of lakhs of rupees", while they were "indebted in large sums to this Sirkar". Travancore replied that, as Cranganur and Azhikotta had been taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in open war and as they had been in their possession for over a century without any rent or tax being levied by any native power, the Dutch had every right to sell them, that the Travancore lines were constructed in Coch'n territory with the approval of the Raja fifteen years before he became tributary to Mysore, and that the Rajas who had taken refuge in Travancore were his relations and no objection had been taken ever before to their residence there, but that to show his amicable disposition towards Tipu he would remove them from his State. These answers of course did not satisfy Tipu, and he therefore set his army in motion to invade Travancore. It may be mentioned here that the Governor of Madras, John Holland, took Tipu's view in regard to Cranganur and Azhikotta, and advised their restoration to the Dutch. He also warned Travancore that her inpolitic conduct in purchasing these forts without the assent of the Madras Government made her "liable to a forfeiture of the Company's protection". When this misunderstanding between Travancore and the Madras Government came to the notice of Lord Cornwallis, he issued explicit instructions for the guidance of the latter. If after proper investigation it was found that the forts had belonged to Cochin subsequently to her becoming tributary to Mysore, Travancore should be compelled to restore them to their former possessor, and, if not, Travancore's position should be upheld. If Tipu had actually taken possession of the places, he was not to be forcibly dispossessed of them unless he had also attacked the other territories of Travancore; but if such attack had occurred, it should be deemed an act of hostility to be followed up vigorously by war. The Madras Government not only disobeyed but animadverted upon these instructions, and their "most criminal disobedience of clear and explicit orders", as Lord Cornwallis called it, brought untold miseries upon Cochin and Travancore.

Tipu left his monsoon quarters at Coimbatore in October 1789 and entered Cochin territory in November. His slow march through Cochin at the head of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry and 20 field guns was a memorable event in the history of the State. Harassing tales are still told by old men to

CHAPTER II,
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Tipu's march
through Co-
chin.

CHAPTER II. wondering and awe-struck youths of the devastations and suffer-
 MYSOREAN ings caused by this genius of destruction. For miles on either
 SUPREMACY. — side of his line of march the country was deserted by its in-

habitants ; the majority of them sought shelter in the milder neighbourhood of the tiger and the bison, while the richer few took refuge beyond the Travancore lines. The country thus deserted was devastated by fire and sword. Hindu temples and Christian churches were first plundered and desecrated, and then had their roofs blown off. Houses and bazaars were looted and set fire to. Pepper vines and fruit trees were cut down or otherwise destroyed. All those who came within his clutches were forcibly converted to Islam or mercilessly put to the sword. In Trichur he spent over a month and made it the head-quarters of a new Collectorate. He converted the great temple into his office and the Brahman Mutts into quarters for his officers. In all these places of worship cows were slaughtered and their carcasses thrown into temple wells and tanks. The effects of the havoc committed by him long survived his departure from the country. During his stay here hundreds died by the sword and thousands from hunger and privation. When after his departure the survivors returned to their homes, a severe famine caused by neglected cultivation and wanton destruction broke out, with a widespread epidemic of cholera and small-pox at its heels, which carried off numberless victims. It took several years before the State recovered its normal condition.

Tipu's attack
 and capture
 of the lines.

Tipu attacked the Travancore lines on the 29th December with 7,000 men and breached a weak part close to the hills. They carried it and possessed the lines for three miles, when, reinforcements of the Travancore troops coming up from right and left, they were helmed in between two fires and driven back with slaughter. Nearly a thousand men were left dead within the lines and several prisoners were taken. Tipu who was at the attack had a horse shot under him and was saved with great difficulty by some of his men, but was lamed for life by the fall. The Sultan was intensely mortified by this failure and swore that he would not leave the spot till he had carried " that contemptible wall ". He sat before the lines and sent for a siege train from Seringapatam and Bangalore and reinforcements from Malabar. When they arrived, Tipu renewed the attack. A series of approaches were made, the ditch was filled, and in a few days a long breach was

effected. On the 15th April the lines were carried by assault, when the besieged retreated precipitately and in great disorder, and Tipu set about the demolition of the lines, which he effected in six days. After this, the Sultan advanced to Alway and sent divisions of his army to several stations in Parur and Alangad, who occupied Varapoly, Parur, Chennamangalam and other outposts, and also the forts of Cranganur, Azhikotta and Kuriyapilli, which had been abandoned by the Travancoreans. In all these places he committed atrocities exceeding in violence even those he committed on his march through Cochin.

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Travancore and Cochin now lay at the tyrant's mercy. His further advance however was stopped temporarily by the monsoon inundations and permanently by the storm that was gathering in his rear. Throughout the siege, two English battalions were behind the lines, but they remained passive spectators without giving any aid to the besieged as they had orders not to act even on the defensive. When however the news of the attack reached Lord Cornwallis, he not only reversed the orders of the Madras Government, but severely reprimanded them for their "most criminal disobedience" of the clear and explicit orders of the Supreme Government, for having submitted to "the most gross insults that could be offered to any nation", and for "the disgraceful sacrifice of the honour of their country by tamely suffering an insolent and cruel enemy to overwhelm the dominions of the Raja of Travancore, whom they were bound by the most sacred ties of friendship and good faith to defend". The Governor General at once made arrangements to prosecute the war vigorously, sent a large force under Colonel Hartley to co-operate with the Travancore forces and ordered the Madras army to march upon Seringapatam. Colonel Hartley's force arrived too late to be of service in saving the lines, but the news that the English had declared war against him not only arrested Tipu's further progress in Travancore but forced him to beat a precipitate retreat to protect his capital. He accordingly divided his army into two divisions and sent one by Chalakudi and Trichur to Palghat and the other by Cranganur and Chavakad to the same destination, while he himself hastened to Coimbatore, accompanied by a few picked horsemen.

Tipu's retreat.

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BRITISH.*

Terms of the
first treaty.

As Tipu was not destined to return to the west coast again, it is not necessary to follow the fortunes of his war with the English and their allies. By the treaty of Serirugapatam which concluded the war in March 1792, he was forced to yield to the allies one half of the dominions which were in his possession at the commencement of the war and to pay three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees. Soon after the departure of Tipu from Cochin, the Raja openly threw off his allegiance to him and joined the English. The formal treaty however was signed only after some months, *i. e.*, on the 6th January 1791, the delay being probably due to the death of the Raja, which took place in August, but it was to have effect from the 25th September. By this treaty the Raja agreed to throw off all allegiance to Tipu and become tributary to the Company, and to pay in quarterly installments a tribute of seventy thousand rupees for the first year; eighty thousand for the second, ninety thousand for the third, and a lakh for the fourth and subsequent years. The Company on their part agreed to assist the Raja in recovering the possessions wrested from him by Tipu to allow him to exercise a complete and uncontrolled authority over those possessions under the acknowledged suzerainty of the Company, to make no further demands on him and to give him that protection which was always given by the Company to all their faithful tributaries and allies. It was also stipulated that the Raja was to be tributary only for those lands which were in the possession of Tipu and with which the Dutch East India Company had no concern.† Cochin was placed under the Commissioners appointed jointly by the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Governments for the management of the affairs of Malabar. It was at first placed under the political control of the Madras Government, but in 1792 it was transferred to the Government of Bombay. In 1800 however it was, along with Malabar and South Canara, again placed under the Madras Government.

* The authorities for this period are: (1) the Report of the Joint Commissioners; (2) Day's *Land of the Perumals*; (3) Huzur records; and (4) records kindly furnished by the British Resident from his own office and from the Madras Secretariat.

† This condition was inserted in order to avoid future complications with the Dutch Company. When the Dutch Governor Van Angelbeck was asked what their engagements with the Raja really were, he refused to give any definite information. The Dutch were now very jealous of English interference; Van Angelbeck warns his successor that "if they (the English) are allowed to insert their little finger in the affairs of these regions, they will not rest until they have managed to thrust in their whole arm".

Raja Rama Varma, who ascended the musnad just before the conclusion of the treaty, differed greatly from the *rojaneants* who immediately preceded him. During the fifteen years of his reign, he kept the reins of administration in his own capable hands, and his rule was characterised by a vigour and harshness to which the people had not been accustomed since the days of his namesake who died in 1732. Of him, Fra Bartolomeo, a Carmelite missionary who resided on this coast for several years, says :—" I had several times an audience of him at *Mattincera*, where he frequently sent for me to the palace, as he wished to be made acquainted with different particulars respecting the affairs of Europe. He spoke Dutch exceedingly well, and was desirous of learning English also. As he was a brave and enterprising man, possessed of considerable talents and no little share of pride, he could not bear the idea of being satisfied with the income enjoyed by his predecessors. He therefore exercised every kind of oppression against the merchants ; caused three of the overseers of the temple *Tirumala devassam* to be put to death, because they would not resign to him any part of the treasure belonging to it ; plundered the shops and carried away the merchants' property ". Another means adopted by the Raja to enrich himself was the confiscation of the properties of officers guilty of corruption. He issued detailed instructions in writing for the guidance of officers of all grades, and placed over them a number of officers designated Captains of Soubahs—each Soubah consisted of two Taluks—whose sole duty was to watch closely and report on the conduct of all officers in their respective Soubahs. Officers found guilty of corruption on their reports were sentenced to whipping and imprisonment, and their whole property, ancestral as well as self-acquired, was confiscated to the State. As speculation was very rife in those days, this was a never-failing source of income to the Raja. He also added to his income by trading on his own account. He owned a number of coasting vessels commanded by European captains, and carried on a brisk trade with all the ports from Bombay to Masulipatam.

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—
Raja Rama
Varma.

The two or three years following the conclusion of the treaty were spent in the settlement of the claims of the several Malabar Chiefs by the Commissioners. One of the conditions of the Cochin treaty was that, if any Raja preferred any claim to any of the places and districts mentioned therein within five years after the date of the treaty, it should be entitled to a fair and impartial discussion, and be subject to the final decision of

Settlement
of claims.

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the Company's Government. Among the places mentioned in the treaty were Kavalapara, Tenmalapuram and Vadamalaparam, the first of which was claimed by the Kavalapara Nayar and the other two by the Palghat Raja, while the Raja of Cochin claimed as his the Chetva island, Cranganur and Vanneri, which had not been included in the treaty. There were also some minor disputes with the Zamorin in regard to certain boundaries and Desams, which were decided in favour of Cochin on the strength of a Farman granted by Tipu, the Commissioners holding it "politically right and just to abide by the purport" of the Farman, as the villages mentioned therein "must be construed to have made part of the Cochin territory at the beginning of the last war with the Sultan". In the investigations that followed, the Raja appears to have claimed too much and the Commissioners to have given too little. Further, in his anxiety to make the best of his case, His Highness seems to have adopted extreme measures and thereby prejudiced the Commissioners, for they say in their elaborate report to the Government that the Cochin Raja's Government was "at this time so jealous and despotic that absolutely none of the subjects of the Raja dare impart the least information under pain of death". They also thought it proper and necessary to give to persons who gave them what they considered correct or useful information certificates promising protection "from any injustice that from resentment or otherwise the Raja of Cochin or his officers may hereafter attempt to commit towards them".

Kavalapara,
Tenmalapuram
and Vadamalaparam.

The claim to Kavalapara, Tenmalapuram and Vadamalaparam was decided against Cochin. The Kavalapara Nayar as such was generally an independent chief and was certainly so since 1716, when the Zamorin attacked him and was defeated by him with the help of the Rajas of Cochin and Walluvanad. But he had other titles and estates: as Ayyazhi Padanayar and Vadakum Nambidi, he undoubtedly was and still is under Cochin and as Kanjur Padanayar he was similarly under the Zamorin.* It was on the strength of this circumstance and on its having been inserted in the treaty of 1792 that Cochin now claimed Kavalapara. This claim was repeatedly urged by Cochin and was as often disallowed by the

* To compare small things with great, his position was similar to that of the Norman Kings of England, who, as Dukes of Normandy, were the vassals of France, while as Kings of England they were independent.

Commissioners. Tenmalapuram and Vadamalapuram originally belonged to the Palghat Raja, who once ceded them to Cochin and afterwards got them back. It is not known when and under what circumstances these transactions took place, but there are clear indications in the records to show that they did take place and also that the Palghat Raja at times owed a sort of allegiance to Cochin. But these tracts were not in the possession of Cochin at the time of Haidar's invasion or for several years anterior to it : she was therefore naturally unable to substantiate her claim.

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The Chetva island, exclusive of Cranganur and Patinet-tarayalam, was leased to Cochin for one year on a rental of Rs. 40,000 a few months before the treaty of 1790 was signed. The Zamorin then claimed it as his, but his claim was disallowed on the ground that it had been taken from him by the Dutch in 1717, and from the latter by Haidar in 1776, and the English took it from Tipu in 1790. The lease to Cochin was renewed for two years in November 1791 and again for ten years in 1793 on the same rent. Among the conditions of the lease were that the Raja was not to exercise any civil and criminal jurisdiction over the tract and that "in case any complaints be made by the inhabitants of oppression by the Raja or his Karyakars, such complaints, when proved, shall be deemed sufficient cause for the lease being cancelled". It was not in the nature of His Highness to fulfil conditions of this kind, and the lease was therefore cancelled in 1801, *i. e.*, two years before the expiry of the period. Patinettarayalam had alternately been in the possession of the Zamorin, the Dutch and Cochin, but in 1769 it was finally made over to the latter by the Dutch, on the strength of which Cochin's possession of it was now confirmed. Cranganur had more often been under the Zamorin or the Dutch than under Cochin, and at the time of Haidar's invasion it was under the Dutch. But that potentate treated it as subject to Cochin and levied his tribute from it through Cochin. When questioned by the Commissioners, the Raja of Cranganur strongly supported the claims of Cochin and expressed his desire to be placed under her. After a lengthy correspondence with the Raja and the Dutch Governor of Cochin, the Commissioners decided to allow Cranganur to remain with the Raja of Cochin until the pleasure of Government should be known, and this decision was finally ratified by the Supreme Government. As Vanneri was in the possession of the

Chetva,
Cranganur
and Vanneri.

CHAPTER II. Zamorin at the time Haidar conquered Malabar, Cochin's claim to this tract was disallowed by the Commissioners.

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Parur, Alangad and
Kunnatnad.

Among the districts ceded by Tipu under the treaty of Seringapatam, he included Parur, Alangad and Kunnatnad, which districts were once ceded to Travancore by Cochin. After taking the Travancore lines, Tipu overran this part of the country, and consequently treated these districts as his conquests. But Travancore contended that, as they were conquered by Tipu after she entered into an alliance with the Company, she was entitled to their restoration on the conclusion of peace. The Government of India, after a good deal of correspondence with Tipu, deputed two special Commissioners to ascertain the facts of the case. At this stage, the Raja of Cochin put in a claim to these districts. They were ceded by his ancestor to Travancore on the condition that the latter should assist him in recovering his possessions from the Zamorin as far as Pukkaita, but as Vanneri which was on this side of Pukkaita had not been recovered, Travancore had not fully carried out that condition. It was also alleged that Travancore had on this ground often been asked to return the districts and that she always promised compliance, but never performed. When however he was asked to produce evidence in support of this allegation, the Raja found himself in an embarrassing position, and had to request the Commissioners "not to insist on making any further scrutiny into the points in question as he had now become fully convinced that he did not possess any rights to the said districts". The Government of India accordingly, on the recommendation of the Commissioners, confirmed the claim of Travancore.

Misunder-
standings
with the
Dutch.

Raja Rama Varma had always been jealous of the jurisdiction exercised by the Dutch over the Konkanis and Latin Christians, and on his accession to the musnad, relying on his alliance with the English and the growing weakness of the Dutch, he began to set this privilege at naught. He extorted money from the Konkanis and the Christians and put to death those who defied his authority. In October 1791 the Dutch came to the rescue of the Konkanis, and a detachment of Europeans, Malays and Sepoys with six field pieces attacked the Raja in his palace at Mattancheri but were driven back with considerable loss. The Raja now made preparations to besiege Cochin and would in all probability have succeeded in driving the Dutch out of the town but for the intervention of

the Company's Agent Mr. Powney, who appeared on the scene soon after the hostilities broke out, and by his tact and firmness managed to bring about an accommodation between the parties. Though there was no open rupture between them subsequent to this, their relations continued to be strained till 1795, when the English ousted the Dutch from Cochin. The Dutch had no adequate force to contend against the Raja, and were obliged to leave the Konkanis and the Christians to his tender mercies. The Raja persecuted these protégés of the Dutch with relentless cruelty, and they obtained some relief only when the English power was firmly established in Cochin. *

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Early in 1795 Holland was conquered by Napoleon and the Stratholder took refuge in England. To prevent the Dutch possessions in the east from falling into the hands of the French, the Stratholder issued a proclamation to all Governors and Commandants, requiring them to allow British troops to take possession of all the forts in the Dutch colonies. Major Petrie accordingly appeared before Cochin with a considerable force, but the Dutch Governor Van Spall refused to surrender the fort. He had recently laid in provisions for the purpose of withstanding a siege, and made a desperate appeal to the Raja of Cochin for assistance in consideration of their long-standing friendship and the services mutually rendered during a period of 130 years. The Raja not only refused to comply with his request, but did everything in his power to impede the Dutch. Major Petrie, on finding the Dutch not disposed to give up the place, laid regular siege to the fort, when after a very feeble resistance the Dutch surrendered the place and became prisoners of war on the 19th October. In December 1796 those who were desirous of leaving Cochin were sent to Bombay to be shipped off to Batavia, but many among the Dutch preferred to remain in Cochin, where, far from thriving, they were gradually

Capture of
Cochin by
the English.

* Two typical instances may be given of the manner in which these people were dealt with. The Konkanis were then a wealthy community, and the Raja not only extorted money from wealthy individuals, but even proceeded to take forcible possession of the costly jewels and idols set with precious stones belonging to their temple. The *Adhikaris* or managers of the temple however got timely intimation of the proposed seizure and managed to remove the jewels and idols to Alleppey. The *Adhikaris* were thereupon apprehended and put to death by His Highness' orders. The father of the Vicar of the Idappilli church and the brother of that of the Ernakulam church were suspected of giving information to the English, and were therefore secretly arrested and removed to Trichur, where they were confined in tiger cages, heavily loaded with irons, for nearly a year. They were then let out, but only to be put to death on their way to Ernakulam.

CHAPTER II. reduced to great distress, so much so that the English East
SUBSIDIARY India Company was moved to settle pensions on several of
ALLIANCE them. Thus ended the connection of the Dutch with Cochin.
WITH THE Though they left Cochin in the lurch when Travancore rose to
BRITISH. power, they rendered great service to the State in the days of
 their power.

The Raja's
 relations
 with the
 English.

Though the English were at first welcomed with open arms by the Raja, a change soon came over his feelings towards them. It was the action of the joint Commissioners that first prejudiced him against the English. His Chief Minister and the Commandant of his army danced attendance upon the Commissioners for nearly two years, pressing the claims of Cochin and spending lakhs of rupees in bribing the native subordinates of the Commissioners and some of the Commissioners themselves.* But notwithstanding all this trouble and expenditure, the decision of the Commissioners went against Cochin in respect of all the more important claims to territory which were preferred by her. This was a sore disappointment to the Raja. Subsequently, when the Company's power was securely established in Cochin, its agents began to curb his power and check his high-handedness by remonstrances and threats. His Highness' disaffection eventually became so pronounced that the English strongly suspected him—with what reason it is not known—of carrying on a secret correspondence with Tipu. Matters became worse when Colonel Macaulay was appointed Resident in Travancore in 1800 with some sort of supervision over Cochin. The Colonel was a tactless and overweening man, and treated and addressed the Raja as if the latter was a subordinate officer of his.† The Raja's proud spirit chafed at such cavalier treatment, and it is no wonder therefore that, when the Dutch malcontents in Cochin, who were secretly in communication with the French in Mauritius, waited on the Raja with overtures of help from the French and presented a portrait of Napoleon to him in 1802, His Highness lent a willing ear to their counsels. The Raja's

* Two of the Commissioners, J. Stevens and J. Agnew, were subsequently prosecuted by His Majesty's Attorney General before the Court of King's Bench in London for corruption. They were found guilty and sentenced to heavy fine and imprisonment.

† The following memo addressed by Macaulay to the Raja from Alleppey on 24th July 1803 may be cited as typical of the manner in which he generally addressed His Highness :—"The Resident will be glad to learn that on his arrival near Cochin, the Raja will find it convenient to wait upon him". The Raja of course did not "wait upon him" as desired, but sent some flimsy excuse, and deputed the Paliyat Acchan to see the Resident on his behalf.

officers began to assume a defiant attitude towards the English and went so far as to arrest British subjects within British limits. The Government therefore ordered the garrison in Cochin to "strictly exclude all the servants of the Cochin Raja from the British territory lying around the town".

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The Raja's relations with the English continued to be unsatisfactory till his death, which took place in September 1805. This prince is in popular parlance still spoken of as *Saktar Tamburan*, or the strong king, from the vigour of his rule and the severity of his punishments. He was an active, energetic and wide-awake ruler, and looked into every detail of the administration himself. Nothing escaped his vigilance: his officers as well as his subjects stood in mortal dread of him. Though he subjected individuals, especially wealthy ones, to oppression and extortion, the generality of the people in his time enjoyed an amount of security and happiness unknown in most of the preceding reigns. He pursued robbers and evil-doers of all kinds with such untiring vigour and punished them with such unrelenting severity that grave crimes were of rare occurrence during his reign. In fact, he reserved the privilege of wrongdoing to himself and exercised that privilege on an extensive scale, but he never allowed any one else to oppress or plunder his subjects. Though he had no friendly feelings towards the English, he had acquired a fairly correct conception of the power and resources of that nation. On his death-bed therefore he advised his successor to live in friendship with the English and never to give them cause of offence.

Death of the
Raja.

His cousin and namesake who succeeded him was a mild and benevolent prince, an eminent scholar, but a weak ruler. He devoted his time and attention chiefly to religious and philosophical studies and left the government of his State in the hands of his ministers. In the preceding reign the Swamiyar of the Sodaya Mutt at Udipi visited Tripunittura, and by his preachings and discourses led this Raja and his brother to accept the tenets of Madhvaism. The late Raja thereupon unceremoniously expelled the Swamiyar from the State, and as the princes stood in wholesome dread of him, they made no open profession of their new faith during his reign. Soon after his death, however, the brothers sent for the Swamiyar, publicly announced their conversion to Madhvaism, and actively exerted themselves thereafter to make new converts to their faith. As sectarian differences were unknown in the State since the days of Sankaracharya, this conversion created great excitement in

Religious
ferment.

CHAPTER II. the country, and gave considerable annoyance to the people,
 SUBSIDIARY especially the Namburis. The members of the royal family
 ALLIANCE however remained staunch Madhvas, and continued to be so for
 WITH THE about half a century. The last militant Madhva in the family
 BRITISH. was the Raja who died in 1864 ; since his time the family
 returned to its ancient Smarta fold.

Paliyat Ac- The Paliyat Acchan, as we have seen, ceased to be the
 chan again hereditary chief minister of the State in 1779. The senior
 Acchan at that time was a boy, and when he grew up, he made
 some attempt to regain his lost position, but without success.
 The late Raja treated him as the first nobleman in the State,
 but would never allow him to interfere in administrative mat-
 ters, much less make him chief minister. When his successor
 ascended the musnad, however, the Acchan succeeded in attain-
 ing the object of his ambition. Velu Tambi, the all powerful
 minister of Travancore and the prime favourite of the Resident,
 was a staunch friend of the Acchan, and with a view to oblige
 his friend as well to have Cochin on his side in the event of
 any emergency, he visited the Raja at Tripunittura and persua-
 ded him to reinstate the Acchan. His Highness agreed to this
 all the more readily, as it was then well known that Macaulay
 was favourably disposed towards the Acchan. The latter was
 a man of ability and ambition, and, with the example of Velu
 Tambi before him, took advantage of the easy-going nature of
 the prince, reduced him to a nonentity, and constituted himself
 the virtual ruler of the State. Velu Tambi sent a detachment of
 Travancore troops to act as the body guard of the Raja, osten-
 sibly as a compliment to him but really to curtail his liberty
 of action.

Destruction In 1806 the English were guilty of an act of vandalism,
 of British which created a very unfavourable impression in these parts.
 Cochin. The Court of Directors feared that the ministry of Mr. Fox
 would restore Cochin and other Dutch colonies to Holland,
 which was then under Napoleon, and that they would thus be
 deprived of the only port south of Bombay where large ships
 could be built. They accordingly sent out orders to blow up
 with gunpowder the fortifications, public buildings, etc., in
 Cochin, and the orders were carried with a thoroughness worthy
 of a better cause. Mr. Chisholm Anstey, who visited Cochin
 in 1857, says :—" I was agreeably surprised at the appear-
 ance of the town. It is not that the destruction was less
 complete than the Vandals of Leadenhall Street designed. On
 the contrary, it is hard to imagine a more faithful and exact

performance of the will of a superior than was rendered here in 1806 by the Company's Proconsuls to their intelligent and honourable masters. The stupendous quays, shattered into enormous masses by the Company's mines of gunpowder, still encumber the anchorages, and make embarkation and disembarkation difficult. Not a vestige remains of most of the public buildings. The magnificent warehouses of the Dutch East India Company, which won admiration from the rest of the world, and envy from our own Company, were the first to be sprung into the air. There is a solitary tower left—the 'Flag-staff', they call it now—to tell where stood the cathedral of Cochin, and where the body of Vasco da Gama was buried. His grave has been defiled by us, and its very place is now forgotten. 'You are within fifty yards of it, but on which side I cannot say'—was the only indication which a well-read and careful investigator of local antiquities—himself a Resident here for some years past—could give me of the whereabouts of him who opened the Indian Ocean to our commerce—to all commerce. One church—diverted from the Portuguese to the Dutch worship, and from the latter to the English Protestant establishment—is the only one which the Company's Guy Fauxes were pleased to spare. That too is the only building left us whereby to justify our faith in the chronicles which record the ancient wealth and splendour of Cochin." "It is not surprising", he adds, "after the destruction above described that two years later in 1808 when it was reported that a French force would land on the coast of Malabar in the course of January, in anticipation of this event, the Diwan (or minister of the Raja of Cochin) urged the Raja to prepare to unite himself with the Travancoreans and the French for the purpose of expelling the English from the country". *

A new treaty was forced on Travancore in 1805, by which the subsidy was doubled and large powers were conceded to the Company's Government to interfere in the administration of the State. This treaty naturally gave great dissatisfaction alike to the Raja and to his subjects. The finances of Travancore at the time did not admit of the payment of such a large subsidy, which consequently soon fell into large arrears. When Velu Tambi failed to meet the peremptory demands of the Resident for payment, the latter turned against his quondam friend and favourite and used language which the haughty and arrogant

Disaffection
in Travancore.

* Quoted in *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama* by Henry F. J. Stanley, pp. 428—30.

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minister resented bitterly. In 1805 Velu Tambi, according to Macaulay, conducted "the general administration of the concerns of the State with his usual ability and address, grounded on the firmest integrity", "regulated his conduct by principles of rectitude and probity in every measure connected with finance", and formed "a very singular and honorable exception to the general depravity". Two years later the Resident described the same officer as "a temporising, equivocating, prevaricating and marauding boy", and characterised his proceedings as "dictated by a spirit of the most base treachery and tyranny".* Insults of this kind combined with several other incidents led the minister to break with the English, and "he set himself to work to organise an insurrection of the Nayers and to accomplish the murder of the Resident whom he hated as the scourge of his country and as his own avowed and inexorable foe".

Cochin joins
Travancore.

Velu Tambi prevailed upon the Paliyat Acchan to join in the revolt. The latter, when engaged in consolidating his power, found some influential parties in the way, the chief of whom were the late Raja's chief minister, Rama Menon, his chief Commandant, Govinda Menon, and young Kunjikrishna Menon of Nadavaramba, who was a favourite of the present Raja as well as of Macaulay and was in the running for the ministership. The first two were invited over to Chennanangalam to discuss the situation with the Acchan amicably and to come to a mutual understanding, but on their way they were surrounded by the retainers of the ministers of Travancore and Cochin and drowned in the Cranganur river. Kunjikrishna Menon also was marked out for a similar fate, but he escaped their vigilance, and under the Raja's advice took refuge with Macaulay, who promised him protection. The Acchan's demand to surrender the young man was of course refused, whereupon he vowed vengeance on Macaulay, and Velu Tambi had no difficulty therefore in gaining over the Acchan to his views.

Preparation
for revolt.

The confederates set themselves to work quietly, levied recruits from all parts of the two States and deputed officers to drill them regularly. But owing to the open opposition of the Raja of Cochin to any rupture with the English, the Acchan was able to raise only a force of three to four thousand men, while Velu Tambi succeeded in raising ten times that number. In order to prevent His Highness from actively exerting his

* P. Sankunni Menon's *History of Travancore*, pp. 324 and 328.

influence against the ministers, he was by alternate entreaties and threats persuaded to leave Tripunittura, and was conveyed to Vellarapilli, an out-of-the-way village to the east of Alway, where he, with his family, was actually kept under restraint. The confederates were in communication with the French in Mauritius and the Isle of France and were made to understand that a considerable French force would shortly arrive on the Malabar Coast to act against the English. Before their plans were fully matured, three Armenians landed at Anjengo early in November 1808, and had an interview with Velu Tambi and the Acchan at Trevandrum, where they represented themselves to be emissaries from the French, and intimated that the promised force would arrive about the middle of January. The confederates thereupon decided to strike the blow at once, drive the English out of the country before the arrival of the French, and rely upon the latter for support, should the English return in force to attack them.

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The plan of the confederates was to make a simultaneous attack on British Cochin and the subsidiary force stationed at Quilon. At midnight on the 18th December six hundred men commanded by the Acchan and two of Velu Tambi's officers entered Cochin, surrounded the Resident's house and opened a smart fire of musketry. They soon overpowered the guard, entered and pillaged the building, and destroyed all the public records, but to their chagrin they could nowhere find Macaulay and Kunjikrishna Menon, whose murder was one of the first objects of the insurgents. With the help of a confidential Portuguese clerk under him, the Resident managed to conceal himself in a recess in the lower chamber, and in the morning escaped to a British ship that was just entering the harbour with part of the reinforcements from Malabar. Kunjikrishna Menon similarly escaped from Mattancheri and joined Macaulay on board the ship. The insurgents in their fury broke open the jail and let the prisoners loose, plundered the houses and spread consternation and havoc in the town. But on the approach of reinforcements, they retreated from Cochin and joined the forces that were being collected to the north of the town. The attack on the subsidiary force at Quilon under Colonel Chalmers was made on the 30th, but without success; it was renewed in great force more than once, but the insurgents were on each occasion repulsed with great loss. The confederates, though considerably disheartened by these failures, persisted in their enterprise. After the repulse at Quilon, a division of the Travancore army

Outbreak of
the insurrec-
tion.

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SUBSIDIARY Acchan. The combined force, 3,000 strong, attacked Cochin in
ALLIANCE three divisions on the 19th January, planted a battery on
WITH THE Vaipin point and did some execution with it. The place was
BRITISH. gallantly defended by six companies of native infantry and fifty
 Europeans under Major Hewitt notwithstanding several
 determined attacks from the insurgents, who lost 300 men. The
 defenders also suffered severely. Two days later the insurgents
 attacked the Dutch Governor's house on the outskirts of the
 town and destroyed the garden, and on the 25th another attack
 was made from the eastward. By this time they ceased to have
 much stomach for fighting and were easily forced to retreat, a
 number of them being taken prisoners.

Insurrection
 quelled.

Though Colonel Macaulay was taken by surprise at Cochin
 by the insurgents, he had not been unaware of the preparations
 that were being made by the two ministers. He had kept the
 Madras Government informed of the progress of the prepara-
 tions and had also warned the officer commanding the subsidiary
 force and the officer commanding Malabar and Canara to hold
 themselves in readiness to take the field at the first symptoms
 of revolt. He had further asked the latter to send a detachment
 to Cochin at once, which accounted for the timely arrival of
 reinforcements under Major Hewitt. The Madras Government,
 when apprised of the outbreak, took prompt and vigorous action.
 Under their orders, a large force under Colonel St. Leger has-
 tened from Trichinopoly to Travancore and another under
 Colonel Cupage from Malabar to Cochin. At this stage the
 confederates found their cause hopeless, and realised that the
 promised help from the French was but the offspring of
 their own credulity. The Government in the meantime issued
 a proclamation offering friendship or war, and the Acchan,
 taking advantage of this offer, agreed to surrender, if he should
 be assured of "security to his person, honour, family and pro-
 perty". The Resident agreed to this condition, but warned the
 Acchan that he would not be allowed to reside in Cochin, but
 that he should take up his residence in any place appointed
 by the Madras Government. The Acchan made his surrender
 accordingly on the 27th February 1809 and was immediately
 conveyed to Madras. He was never afterwards allowed to visit
 Cochin.*

* In 1821 the Acchan was allowed to leave Madras and settled down in
 Benares, where he lived till his death in 1832.

With the surrender of the Paliyat Acchan the insurrection collapsed so far as Cochin was concerned. A fortnight after its outbreak, the Raja died at Vellarappilli, and as his successor was also avowedly opposed to the insurrection and as the Acchan himself acknowledged that he was solely responsible for it, the outbreak was not treated as an act of State justifying annexation. The Madras Government however considered it necessary to make arrangements, "which shall be calculated to prevent the authority and resources of the Cochin country from being employed in designs hostile to the British interests, and which shall be conducive to the advancement of the prosperity and welfare of both the States". A new treaty was accordingly concluded on the 6th May 1809, by which the Raja agreed to pay an additional subsidy of Rs. 1,76,037, being the "sum equal to the expense of one battalion of native infantry", the disposal of the said amount and the distribution of the force maintained by it being left entirely to the Company; to contribute a fresh and reasonable proportion of any additional expenditure that might have to be incurred, "should it become necessary to employ a larger force for the defence and protection of the Cochin territories against foreign invasions"; to allow the Governor in Council, whenever he found reason to apprehend a failure in the funds required for the above payments, "to introduce such regulations or ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of the revenues or for the better ordering of any other branch or department of the Raja of Cochin, or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the said Company Bahadur such part or parts of the territorial possessions of the Raja of Cochin as shall appear to the said Governor in Council necessary to render the funds efficient and available either in time of peace or war"; to abstain from any interference in the affairs of any State in alliance with the Company or any State whatever, and from holding any communication with any foreign State without the previous knowledge and sanction of the Company; to admit no European foreigners into the Raja's service without the concurrence of the Company and to apprehend and deliver to the Company's Government all Europeans found in the State without regular passports from that Government; to allow the Company "to dis-mantle or garrison in whatever manner they may judge proper such fortresses and strong places within the territories of the said

* The narrative from this period is based upon the records of the Huzur Secretariat.

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BRITISH SU-
PREMACY. "to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the

English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to the Raja with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenue, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of the interests of the said Raja, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both States". This treaty has ever since remained in force unaltered, except that the subsidy was reduced to two lakhs of rupees in 1818. Besides the increased subsidy, Cochin had also to pay a war indemnity of nearly six lakhs of rupees.

The new
minister.

After the suppression of the rebellion, Kunjikrishna Menon, the favourite of Macaulay as well as of the late Raja, was appointed Valiya Sarvadhikaryakar or prime minister. Though a man of ability, he was inexperienced, self-willed and arbitrary, and fell out with the Raja within a few months of his appointment. He wanted to play the role of Mayor of the Palace like his predecessor in Cochin and Velu Tambi in Travancore, but he did not realise that no one could play such a role with impunity under the altered circumstances of the country. He did things according to his sweet will and pleasure, and pursued his enemies, real or supposed, with vindictive ferocity, caring as little for the remonstrances of his Raja as for the grumblings of the people. He went further and committed the more fatal mistake of taking no steps to pay the war indemnity and of leaving the subsidy in arrears. Within six months of his appointment the Raja began to complain to the Resident of his minister's high-handedness and insubordination and to insist upon his removal from office, but Colonel Macaulay turned a deaf ear to all complaints against his favourite. When however Macaulay was recalled in March 1810, Kunjikrishna Menon's position became insecure; the new Resident took immediate steps to curb the power of the minister, and in June 1812 obtained the sanction of the Madras Government to retire him on pension.

Change of
Resident.

Macaulay's great unpopularity in the two States had become known to the Government, and they would have recalled him towards the end of 1808 but for the outbreak of the rebellion. The recall, which had thus been held in abeyance on that account, was now hastened by the barbarities he perpetrated in Travancore. Velu Tambi, finding his cause lost, fled to the jungles with his brother, where he was overtaken by his enemies in a

Bhagavati temple. To save himself from falling alive into the hands of his enemies, he died by his own hands, but Macaulay, not satisfied with this punishment, had the body of the fallen minister carried to Trivandram and exposed upon a gibbet in a prominent place. Lord Minto "condemned, in terms of merited reprehension, the vengeance which had pursued the crimes of the Diwan beyond his life. The ends of justice and the purposes of public security were attained, the Governor General remarked, by the death of the Diwan, and the persecution of a vindictive policy, when the object of it had ceased to exist, was repugnant to the feelings of a common humanity and the principles of a civilised government". * Macaulay's conduct as a soldier too merited and received as severe a condemnation as his conduct as an administrator. He was accordingly recalled, and his place was taken by Major (afterwards Colonel) H. M. Munro. The latter had in a preëminent degree all the qualities required for dealing successfully with a difficult and delicate situation—ability, energy, judgment and sympathy; and his name is still gratefully cherished throughout Travancore and Cochin as that of a great benefactor. During the few months that intervened between the departure of Macaulay and the arrival of Munro, Dr. K. Macaulay, the Residency Surgeon, was in charge of the Resident's duties as a temporary measure.

The country was at that time in a very disturbed condition. On the death of Raja Rama Varma in 1805, the controlling authority became weakened by the ineptitude and incapacity of the rulers, and consequently lawlessness and corruption became rampant in the land. This state of things was considerably aggravated by the late insurrection. Such of the Nayers as had hitherto followed arms as a profession now found their occupation gone, and many of them formed themselves into small bands of dakaits and highwaymen and terrorised over the people throughout the State. Government officers of all grades became corrupt and mercenary, and preyed upon the country as lawlessly as the professed dakaits themselves. According to Colonel Munro's account, "no description can produce an adequate impression of the tyranny, corruption and abuses of the system, full of activity and energy in everything mischievous, oppressive and infamous, but slow and dilatory to effect any purpose of humanity, mercy and justice. This body of public officers, united together on fixed principles of combination and mutual support, resented a complaint against one of their number as an attack upon the whole. Their pay was very

State of the
country.

* Mill and Wilson's *History of British India*, Vol. VII pp. 183-4.

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small and never issued from the treasury, but supplied from several authorised exactions made by themselves. * On the part of the people, complaint was useless, redress hopeless; they had only one remedy and that was bribery. This practice was universal, and it was one of the melancholy circumstances in the situation of the people that one of the greatest evils was necessarily resorted to as a good to mitigate the still more intolerable grievances of injustice and oppression. Innocence was protected, justice obtained and right secured by bribes". * To crown all, the State was financially in a hopeless state of embarrassment. The total annual income of the State was only about five lakhs of rupees, out of which a subsidy of 2½ lakhs had to be paid annually to the Company and a war indemnity of six lakhs in instalments, so that there was hardly anything left for the maintenance of the royal family and the payment of the administrative establishments. It is no wonder therefore that at the time of Kunjikrishna Menon's retirement the State was found to be in debt to the extent of six lakhs of rupees, besides the heavy arrears of subsidy and indemnity due to the Company.

Col. Munro
 as Resident-
 Diwan.

In these circumstances, Colonel Munro decided to take the administration into his own hands as the only means of restoring order and good government, and with the sanction of the Madras Government and the cordial approval of the Raja, assumed the duties of Diwan in June 1812. He had in the previous year assumed the Diwanship of Travancore, and the reasons given by him for taking such a step were equally applicable to Cochin. "I know no person in the country" he said, "qualified for the situation of Diwan, and the history of the transactions in Travancore for the last ten years would not admit of my placing much confidence in the conduct of any Diwan that might be nominated to office, for of two Diwans appointed by the British influence during that period of time, one was guilty of open rebellion against its authority and the other of numerous instances of mismanagement and oppression. † It appears to be desirable that the office of Diwan should be discontinued and that the Resident should superintend the administration of affairs, if that measure should be agreeable to the wishes of Her Highness the Rani and of the people. I had the best reasons for knowing that the measure would be highly

* Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, quoted in the *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 461.

† Velu Tambi and Ummini Tambi. Their parts were played in Cochin by the Paliyat Acchan and Kunjikrishna Menon respectively.

acceptable to Her Highness, and to a great majority of the people ; and its adoption was further recommended by a variety of considerations drawn from the past history and actual situation of Travancore. The history of this country exhibits a course of low intrigues, a jealous policy which could not be effectively suppressed under the administration of a Diwan ; and which might not only influence the Raja's conduct, but foster a spirit of turbulence and faction in the country. The administration of Travancore has been capricious, oppressive and cruel, and could not be radically corrected while it remained in the hands of a person located under its operation and familiarised to its vices. The situation of the country, full of abuses, would be ameliorated, the attachment of the people secured, and future commotions prevented by the justice, moderation and humanity of an authority possessing the confidence of the Rani and acting under the immediate direction of the British Government ”.

The task which Colonel Munro thus imposed on himself was one of no ordinary difficulty or magnitude, and this difficulty was aggravated by his anxious solicitude to maintain the dignity and prestige of the Raja. He scrupulously refrained from overriding the authority of His Highness : no appointment was made by him without the latter's approval, and every detail of his measures was submitted to the palace for approval or information. To carry the Raja along with him in all his measures required the exercise of uncommon tact and patience on the part of the Resident. His Highness was well intentioned and good-natured, but was also short-tempered, weak and vacillating. A profound Sanskrit scholar, he took more interest in religious and philosophical studies and in composing Malayalam dramas than in the administration of the country. But his two consorts and a Namburi favourite, who jointly exercised great influence over him, constantly drew him out of the seclusion of his study to help them in their schemes of self-aggrandisement, while the Swamiyar of the Sodaya Mutt, whom he revered with the zeal of a new convert, paid periodical visits to him to the detriment of the State's finances. With rare patience, the Colonel put up with, and gradually minimised, these aggravating demands on the crippled resources of the State, and at the same time succeeded in keeping the Raja in good humour. In all this work he was ably seconded by his brother-in-law Captain Blacker, who was appointed Assistant Resident in 1813. During the four years the latter held this

The Resident
and the Raja.

CHAPTER II. office, he was placed in direct charge of the administration of
 BRITISH SU Cochin under the Resident's orders, with Prahlada Rau and
 PREMACY. afterwards Nanjappayya as his agent or personal assistant.

Suppression
 of lawlessness
 and corrup-
 tion.

The suppression of lawlessness and corruption first engaged the Resident's attention. He stationed detachments of the subsidiary force in a dozen different places in the State, and organised a police force to assist them in hunting down highway robbers and dakaitis. Several sharp encounters took place between these forces and the outlaws, in which many lives were lost; those who were captured were, after a summary trial before the Resident or his Assistant, hanged in front of the houses of their chief victims. Munro and Blacker went on circuit throughout the length and breadth of the land with their office establishments and military guard with a view to enquire personally into the condition of the country and its people, to punish and overawe the lawless and to soothe and encourage their victims. Wherever the Colonel was encamped, he assembled the chief men of the place before him, and enquired into their wants and grievances and into the conduct of the local officers. If after a summary enquiry he was satisfied that any such officer was guilty of corruption and oppression, a severe corporal punishment was then and there inflicted on him, the Colonel himself often wielding the cat-o'-nine-tails. The officers so punished were not dismissed from the service, but were allowed to continue in office with an admonition to mend their ways and work in a different spirit. Several officers, who carried to their graves these marks of correction on their back, afterwards rose to prominent positions in the service. These rough and ready methods were fully justified by the results achieved; order and discipline were restored among the officers, and security of life and property ensured throughout the country, to an extent unknown for several years past.

Administra-
 tive reforms.

The Karyakars, who were placed in charge of Taluks when the chiefs were divested of their administrative powers, had hitherto combined in themselves all the functions of government. They were not only revenue and executive officers but were Munsiffs, Sub-Magistrates and Police Inspectors. They were now divested of their judicial and police powers, and their duties were confined to the collection of revenue. For the proper administration of justice, two subordinate courts were established at Tripunittura and Trichur in 1812, each presided over by a Hindu and a Christian Judge and a Sastri, and a Huzur Court presided over by four Judges including the Diwan. Justice was

to be administered according to the *Dharma Sastra* and the customs and usages of the country, but a simple code was enacted for the guidance of the judges in the matter of procedure. A force of Police or Tannadars was organised and placed under Tanna Naiks, one for each Taluk, the supervision over the Naiks being vested in an officer attached to the Huzur under the designation of Daroga. These Tannadars had the duties of the modern police and preventive forces combined in them. Court fees began to be levied according to a definite scale, and stamped *cadjans* were introduced for engrossing documents. Between 1812 and 1816, a large number of Proclamations and Hukm-namas was issued, defining the duties and powers of judicial, police and other officers. A definite scale of pay was established in the place of the indefinite exactions which the officers had hitherto been authorised to make, and some provision was also made for granting pensions to retired officers. Several of the vexatious imposts which pressed heavily on particular individuals or classes, and transit duties on grain and food stuffs, were abolished, and all arrears of revenue which remained uncollected till 1809 were relinquished. Several roads and bridges were constructed, though of a primitive pattern, and a large number of Sirkar buildings, which had through the neglect of years fallen into a dilapidated condition, were repaired or reconstructed.

The system of farming land revenue, customs and forests, which had hitherto been in force, was abolished, and Sirkar officers were appointed to collect these revenues directly. Vigorous measures were taken to extract large quantities of teak departmentally, while junglewood and minor forest produce were allowed to be removed by the people on payment of duty at the *Chaukai* (inland customs) stations. Preventive measures were taken to minimise the smuggling of tobacco and pepper which were articles of Sirkar monopoly, and salt was also made a monopoly article. The Devasvams and Uttupuras (religious and charitable institutions), which had in recent years been grossly mismanaged, were placed on a satisfactory footing, and a definite scale of expenditure was laid down for their maintenance. An account department was organised and a system of accounts introduced, similar to the one then obtaining in the Company's territories. Thirty-three vernacular schools were established, one in each Pravritti, with a view to turn out a number of young men fit to be entertained as writers and accountants under the Sirkar. The successful carrying out

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of these measures obviously involved an immense deal of labour and difficulty, but Colonel Munro and Captain Blacker had the satisfaction of seeing their labours bear excellent fruit. The land revenue rose from Rs. 2,85,000 in 1811-12 to Rs. 3,27,000 in 1816-7, tobacco from 21,000 to 157,000, customs from 25,000 to 35,000, salt from 2,000 to 63,000 and forest from 10,000 to 62,000, and the total revenue from 4,96,000 to 7,55,000. The Raja's Government was thus enabled during these seven years to pay off all arrears of subsidy and war indemnity * and also the major portion of the debts due to private parties, and His Highness expressed his immense satisfaction at these achievements in a remarkable letter to the Governor-General. " Since Colonel John Munro was appointed Resident in my country in the year 1811 ", he said, " that gentleman has by his indefatigable exertions and vigilance rescued me from an ocean of debt in which I was unfortunately involved by the corrupt and treacherous conduct of my ministers, and has enabled myself, my family and my subjects now to live happy and unconcerned, which favourable circumstance I cannot in justice avoid bringing to the notice of your Lordship in Council ".

Reduction of
subsidy.

In the above letter, His Highness, after recounting in detail the great services rendered by Munro and Blacker, proceeded to point out how little the State was able to stand the strain of the large subsidy it had to pay, notwithstanding the great improvements effected by these gentlemen in its finances. " The country is extremely small, and its finances very limited, wherefore the land revenue of the whole country, if well looked after, will but afford with difficulty Rs. 3,10,000 per annum, which, with the uncertain income realised from the sale of tobacco, salt, timber, etc., will with every care but make the total finances of the State amount to Rs. 6,50,000 per annum, from which, when the subsidy, the disbursement on account of Devasvams, charitable institutions, servants, and other indispensable charges are paid, your Lordship in Council will perceive what a very small sum will remain for the maintenance of myself and family, wherefore I beg that your Lordship in Council will be pleased, in consideration of my being a very

* For paying the war indemnity, the surplus income of the Paliyat Acchan's estate, after paying Rs. 15,000 a year for the maintenance of the family, was utilised by Colonel Munro for several years. That gentleman was for restoring to the family such portion of the estate as would yield Rs. 15,000 annually and confiscating the rest to the Sirkar. But the Madras Government ordered the restoration of the whole estate in 1820.

ancient ally of the British nation, to reduce the amount of the present subsidy according to the limits of the present finances of the country, and thus put me on an equal footing with the neighbouring allied thrones of Travancore and Mysore". This reasonable and earnest representation was strongly supported by Colonel Munro, and the Supreme Government was pleased to reduce the subsidy to two lakhs of rupees from 1818.

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The anomalous position of Christians, Jews and Konkanis attracted the early attention of Colonel Munro, and on his representation the British Government gave up in 1814 all control over the Christians, etc., residing in Travancore and Cochin. To safeguard the interests of the Christians, however, Colonel Munro appointed a Christian judge in each of the Courts, and also conferred on them a fair proportion of appointments in the revenue department. This excellent arrangement was however met by the Christians in a very hostile spirit; they refused to submit to the Raja's authority and to pay the taxes due by them, and consequently frequent riots and disturbances took place. In course of time however they became reconciled to the new arrangement, and never gave any trouble since Munro's time. The question of jurisdiction over Vaniyans was not considered at this time, probably through oversight. They were placed under the jurisdiction of the Cochin Sirkar only in 1835.

Jurisdiction
over Chris-
tians, etc.

Having thus placed the administration on a satisfactory footing, Colonel Munro wished to be relieved from the arduous task of supervising the details of the administration, and represented to the Raja the desirability of appointing a Diwan to carry on the administration on the lines laid down by him. The choice was left entirely to His Highness, and the latter selected for the appointment one on whom Munro's own choice would have fallen, Nanjappayya, a native of Coimbatore. He was accordingly appointed Diwan in February 1818. Nanjappayya was a shrewd, tactful and energetic officer, and had already acquired considerable official experience under British officers of exceptional ability. He was at first attached to the Joint Commission appointed for the Settlement of Malabar, and was afterwards drafted by Colonel Munro into his own service when he was appointed Resident in Travancore and Cochin. He made himself very useful to the Colonel in carrying out his measures, and did good service to both the States. He had thus deserved well by Travancore, Cochin and the Company's Government, and all the three Governments rewarded his services by substantial gifts. About a year after Nanjappayya's

The first
Diwan ap-
pointed.

CHAPTER II. BRITISH SUPREMACY. appointment, he was to his great grief and disappointment deprived of the counsel and support of Colonel Munro, as the latter retired from the service early in 1819. Munro's name is still a household word throughout Travancore and Cochin, and common folk love to talk of the wonderful achievements of the great sahib. But for his strenuous and untiring labours for ten long years and his whole-hearted devotion to his self-imposed duty, Travancore and Cochin would in all probability have long ago ceased to be feudatory States. Munro's successor, Colonel McDowall, died within a year of his appointment, and was succeeded by Colonel Newall. Nanjappayya received the cordial support of both these officers, who found in him "a truly valuable public servant".

Nanjappayya's administration.

Nanjappayya's administration was characterised by considerable vigour and usefulness. He closely and efficiently supervised the working of every branch of the administration and dealt severely with erring and indolent subordinates. He constantly toured through the country and personally looked into the wants and grievances of the people. His first act—an act which gave great satisfaction to the royal family and the people generally—was the re-establishment of the seventy water-pandals, and five out of the eight Uttupuras, which were abolished in 1810 by Colonel Macaulay. He then remodelled the judicial administration, the two subordinate Courts being supplanted by the Zilla Courts of Trichur and Anjikaimal, and the Huzur Court by the Appeal Court, and a more detailed code of civil and criminal procedure was passed. The designation of Karyakar and Tirumukham was changed into Tahsildar and Samprati respectively, and fuller instructions were issued for their guidance. A new abkari system was introduced, by which the revenue from this source more than doubled, and arrangements were made to import salt from Bombay and Goa every year to supplement the locally manufactured supply, which was becoming increasingly inadequate. An European officer, Lieutenant Lethbridge, was appointed Superintendent of the Forest department, and the working of this department was reduced to some sort of system. Several lakhs of teak seeds were sown in all the forests, of which nearly one-half were reported to have grown into vigorous plants in Nanjappayya's life time. Vaccination was introduced into all the Taluks, and the Civil Surgeon of British Cochin was appointed ex-officio Darbar Physician and Superintendent of Vaccination. An English missionary, Rev. J. Dawson, opened a dispensary and

an English school at Mattancheri under the auspices of Nanjappayya, who supported it with all the weight of his personal influence and with a substantial pecuniary grant from the Sirkar. Slave owners had hitherto the privilege of punishing their slaves without the intervention of Sirkar officers; such punishments were made penal by a Proclamation issued in 1821. There were several old-standing boundary disputes between Travancore and Cochin, on which correspondence had been going on for several years. On the suggestion of Colonel Newall, the two Diwans met at Quilon in 1824, and after a conference of several days, succeeded in settling most of the disputes amicably.

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PREMACY.

The most important measure with which Nanjappayya's name is associated was the Survey and Settlement of wet lands, known as the *Kandezhuth* of 996 M. E. There had been several unsystematic and piecemeal settlements on previous occasions, but this was the first systematic settlement embracing all the wet lands in the State. A Hukm-nama was issued in 1821, giving detailed instructions regarding the manner in which lands were to be measured and assessed and the claims of the holders to be settled, and an adequate staff was entertained under a Settlement Superintendent to carry out the operations. Nanjappayya took stringent measures to check malpractices on the part of the Settlement officers. He constantly visited the tracts where settlement operations were going on with a view to enquire personally into complaints, and officers suspected of corruption were summarily dismissed or suspended then and there. A committee composed of experienced revenue officers was appointed to enquire into and report on settlement complaints, and the Diwan himself passed final orders on these reports. The whole work was carried out in three years, and the accounts then prepared formed the basis of the land revenue administration of the State for over eighty years. These accounts may perhaps be considered complicated and cumbrous, but they were never found to be wanting in completeness or accuracy for practical purposes: a sure indication of the intelligence and thoroughness with which the work was carried out.

Revenue
settlement.

Nanjappayya died in April 1825 after a successful administration of over seven years, and was succeeded by Seshagiri Rau, who had been the Diwan Peishkar for the past three years. The new Diwan was a man of very mediocre abilities and attainments, but was thoroughly honest and straightforward. His highest aim was to conduct the routine administration of the State satisfactorily, but even in this he was not

Diwan Seshagiri Rau :
death of the
Raja.

CHAPTER II. very successful. Owing to the weakness of his control over
BRITISH SU- subordinates, and to the unceasing demands from the palace
PREMACY. — for money to satisfy the favourites and their dependents,

whose intrigues had hitherto been held in check more or less successfully by the diplomacy and skillful management of Nanjappayya, the finances of the State gradually drifted into an unsatisfactory condition. The subsidy kists were not paid with regularity, and the salaries of Sirkar officers were always in arrears for several months. While things were in this condition, the Raja died in August 1828 and was succeeded by his nephew Rama Varma. The latter hated the consorts of his predecessor, probably with good reason, and one of his first acts was to stop the handsome allowances which had been settled upon them. Good old Seshagiri Rau looked upon this as an unjust and unfeeling act and protested against it, but without success. He then appealed to the Resident and the Madras Government on the subject, whereupon the latter ordered that the allowances should not be discontinued. This act of treason, as it was termed, on the part of the Diwan made him obnoxious to the Raja, and intrigues and cabals against him became the order of the day. Every act of his was represented to the Resident and the Madras Government in the worst possible light, and petitions containing unfounded allegations against the Diwan were constantly presented to those authorities, till at last the Madras Government to prevent a deadlock in the administration consented to his removal. With a clear conscience and a broken heart, Seshagiri Rau left the State in April 1830 with a curse on his lips.

Diwan Sankara Menon.

Edamana Sankara Menon, who was appointed to succeed Seshagiri Rau, was as mediocre a man as his predecessor, but was as unscrupulous as the latter was honest. He had however a genius for intrigue, by the exercise of which he rose step by step to this high position. As early as 1820, Nanjappayya informed the Resident that "this Sankara Menon is an intriguer, but I shall take good care that he does not do anything that is improper in the management of the Sirkar affairs". He did take good care in his time and that with complete success, but honest Seshagiri Rau was no match for the veteran intriguer, and was therefore easily supplanted by him. Having thus reached the height of his ambition, Sankara Menon devoted all his energy and attention to the achievement of the one great aim that he had always had in view, the enrichment of himself, his relatives and his dependents

at the expense of the Sirkar and the people. From most of the offices in which facilities existed for peculation, he gradually removed the existing incumbents on some frivolous pretext or other, and these places were filled up by his relatives and dependents. The latter were allowed complete freedom to help themselves to any Sirkar money in their possession and any largesses obtainable from private parties. The administration thus became corrupt to the core, and the country began to seethe with discontent. The salaries of public servants were paid only at long and irregular intervals, and that too not in money but in vile tobacco and filthy salt, while the subsidy was in arrears for more than a year. Several petitions signed by large numbers of people of all classes were repeatedly addressed to the Resident, Colonel Cadogan, complaining of the many unjust and oppressive acts of the Diwan, but that gentleman took no notice whatever of them. At last, a representative deputation consisting of several respectable Brahmans, Nayars and Native Christians waited upon the Governor at Oottacamund in April 1834 with a memorial containing specific charges of corruption and oppression against the Diwan, whereupon the Madras Government ordered the Resident to institute enquiries into his conduct. Mr. Casamajor, the first civilian Resident in Travancore and Cochin, who had taken Colonel Cadogan's place about this time, lost no time in making a preliminary enquiry, when he was satisfied that the allegations against the Diwan were quite well founded. Sankara Menon was accordingly placed under suspension, and a committee was appointed, with the first Judge of the Appeal Court as President, to make a more minute investigation. An examination of the accounts clearly showed that the Diwan was guilty of embezzlement to the extent of over a lakh of rupees, besides the several sums misappropriated by his relatives and friends. Sankara Menon was therefore criminally prosecuted, but only on one of the counts, his embezzlements in the Salt department; he was found guilty and sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment. All his property was confiscated and sold, and almost the whole amount misappropriated by him was recovered by the sale. As Sankara Menon was then suffering from a serious malady, the Raja ordered his release as an act of mercy after a few months' imprisonment.

Venkitasubbayya, who succeeded Sankara Menon towards the end of 1835, was a man of ability and integrity. Unlike his two immediate predecessors, he had received a fair English

Diwan
Venkita-
subbayya,

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PREMACY.

education and had a varied official training. After serving the Company's Government in several capacities for about fifteen years, he joined the Cochin service as the Palace Daroga during Nanjappayya's administration. He enjoyed the friendship and confidence of that officer, and rendered him valuable service by smoothing over his difficulties with the palace. On the elevation of Sankara Menon to the Diwanship, he was appointed Diwan Peishkar, and during the black quinquennium that followed, he scrupulously refrained from taking any part in the peculations of his chief or in the agitations against him. He deservedly enjoyed the confidence and respect of the then Raja as well as that of his predecessor, and after closely watching his administration for about a year, the Resident Major General Fraser, who succeeded Mr. Casamajor early in 1836, was "entirely satisfied with the zeal, integrity and careful attention with which he performed the numerous and important duties of his office, and had no doubt that under his administration the affairs of the Sirkar would be well conducted and the latent resources of the country brought into further activity".

Judicial re-
forms.

Venkitasubbayya's administration of five years was marked by the introduction of several useful reforms. In his first year four elaborate Regulations were passed with a view to bring the administration of justice into line with that of the Company's territories. The first of these Regulations was for extending the jurisdiction of the Courts, and it also enacted more elaborate provisions relating to the procedure of the civil courts than those contained in the Hukm-namas of Captain Blacker and Nanjappayya. The second was for the guidance of the Appeal Court, while by the third the Tahsildars of the several Taluks were also appointed police officers, and the ultimate supervision over magisterial and police duties was vested in the Diwan. The fourth Regulation constituted the Zilla Courts the criminal courts of the respective Zillas, and appointed the Judges of the Appeal Court circuit judges for the disposal of sessions cases. These Regulations contained several provisions of a miscellaneous nature, such as those relating to the scale of court fees, limitation of suits, protection of Sirkar monopolies, cattle trespass, weights and measures, etc. Two years later, another Regulation was passed, by which a stamp duty was for the first time imposed on documents evidencing sale, mortgage, etc. These Regulations formed the groundwork of all subsequent judicial legislation in Cochin.

Revenue and
agriculture.

A survey and settlement of gardens, similar to those of wet lands in 996 M. E., were carried out in 1837—38 under the

Diwan's personal supervision, and a large number of taxable trees which were planted since the settlement 1808 were brought to book. The forest department, which had relapsed into its former condition since the retirement of Lieutenant Lethbridge in 1823, was placed on a more satisfactory footing: an European officer, Mr. J. Kohlhoff, was appointed Conservator of Forests, and an elaborate set of rules was drawn up to regulate the working of the department. In the matter of agricultural improvements, Venkitasubbayya was an enthusiast. During his periodical tours he used to assemble the leading ryots in his camp and to lecture them on the importance of introducing improved methods of agriculture and the cultivation of new crops. He opened experimental gardens in Ernakulam, Trichur and Chittur, where different varieties of cotton, indigo, coffee, sugar-cane, potato, cumbu and cholam, were cultivated, and he distributed large quantities of cotton seeds and tens of thousands of coffee plants annually among the ryots for experimental cultivation. Venkitasubbayya's endeavours bore fruit in the Chittur Taluk, where the cultivation of cotton, cumbu, cholam, etc., became popular, but they failed in the other Taluks owing perhaps to the unsuitability of the soil or, as he would have it, the conservatism and want of enterprise of the people. At his instance, several Europeans opened coffee plantations by the side of the Alway and Chalakudi rivers. Their attempts evidently failed, as no vestiges of those plantations are now to be found.

In 1836 Venkitasubbayya thoroughly reorganised his own office, and made it a far more efficient supervising agency than it had ever been before. The English branch of the office was placed under a young and energetic European officer, Mr. J. S. Vernede, who, though born in Cochin, was educated in England. The English letters, which emanated from the Diwan's office during the twenty-eight years he was in charge of the branch, were in point of style and matter such as would not do discredit to an office even in these times. The vernacular schools which were established in all the Pravrittis by Colonel Munro were abolished as they were found to be doing no good; a better organised vernacular school was opened at the head-quarters of each Taluk, and an English school was established at Trichur and another at Mattancheri, and an English tutor was appointed for the education of the princes. Restrictions were imposed in 1809 on the manufacture and use of fire-arms and ammunition, which made the destruction of wild animals almost

Sundry re-
forms.

CHAPTER II. impossible. They therefore increased greatly in numbers and
 BRITISH SU- began latterly to do great damage to men, cattle and crops.
 PREMACY. These restrictions were accordingly removed in 1837, and a
 ----- scale of rewards was sanctioned for the destruction of wild
 animals.

Venkitasub- Venkitasubbayya enjoyed the full confidence of the Raja
 bayya's rela- by whom he was appointed Diwan, and received his cordial
 tions with support in all his attempts to improve the administration of
 the Raja. the State. But His Highness' death, which took place in
 October 1838, interrupted the happy relations between the Raja
 and the Diwan. His successor Raja Rama Varma, who had
 before his accession to the musnad cordially liked Venkitasub-
 bayya, now began to hate him as cordially. When he was on
 his death-bed, the late Raja sent for the Diwan and the Diwan
 Peishkar, and expressed to them his wishes in regard to the
 provision to be made for the maintenance of his wife and child-
 ren. These wishes the Diwan communicated to His Highness'
 successor as well as to the Resident, but the former positively
 refused to sanction the payment of any amount on account of
 his predecessor's consort. The Diwan however was as posi-
 tively resolved to see that the wishes expressed on his death-bed
 by his deceased master were faithfully carried out. After a
 lengthy correspondence between His Highness, the Diwan and
 the Resident, the question was referred for the orders of the
 Government of Madras, who decided that "an allowance should
 be made by the Raja from his private treasury of Rs. 2,527-1-9
 annually, as recommended by the Dewan Vencata Soobiah,
 for the support of the consort and her children in addition to
 the income which the landed property, etc., in her possession
 yielded". The controversy thus closed by the decision of the
 Madras Government made the Diwan very obnoxious to the
 Raja, and the latter began to demand persistently and with
 eventual success the removal of Venkitasubbayya from the office
 of Diwan on the sole ground of His Highness' personal dislike
 for him.

Venkitasub- Venkitasubbayya's retirement provoked the discussion of a
 bayya's ret- constitutional question of great interest and importance. He
 irement. was admittedly an upright and competent officer, but he was per-
 sonally obnoxious to the Raja and should for this sole reason be
 removed from his office. This was the plain issue raised by
 His Highness, and on it a protracted correspondence ensued.
 The Madras Government finally pronounced the following
 decision :—"The Right Honorable the Governor in Council

has already signified his wish that the Cochin State should not be deprived of the valuable services of the Dewan Vencata Soobiah, to whose qualifications both Major General Fraser and Captian Douglas have borne favourable testimony, but if His Highness the Rajah cannot overcome his repugnance to the Dewan, and still insists on his removal from office, the Right Honorable the Governor in Council will no longer oppose it, provided the Dewan Peishkar Shungra Warriar be appointed to succeed as Dewan". When however these proceedings reached the Court of Directors, they disapproved of the action of the Madras Government. "We regret to find", they said, "that you have withdrawn your opposition to the wish of the Rajah of Cochin for the dismissal of the Dewan Vencata Soobiah and that his services have consequently been dispensed with. The Rajah's objection to that individual appears to have been groundless, and so long as the Resident is authorised actively to interfere in the administration of this State, it is of importance that the minister should be a person in whom he can confide and should know himself not to be liable to removal while he performs his duty". But Venkitasubbayya retired on pension long before the receipt of this communication.

The retirement of Venkitasubbayya was delayed for several months after the receipt of the orders of the Madras Government by an unforeseen difficulty. To use the words of Captain Douglas, who succeeded General Fraser as Resident in 1838, "that, in accordance with the decision contained in the first paragraph of the extract (from the Minutes of Consultation above quoted) and with His Highness' wishes, the situation of the Dewan was offered by me to the present Dewan Peishkar Shungra Warriar, who however, being aware that the principal cause of His Highness' displeasure to his present Dewan was that he recommended a certain amount as provision for the Netiar Ammah (consort) of the late Raja, which amount of provision was approved by the Resident Major General Fraser and the acting Resident Captain Douglas, as also finally by the Government, the whole of which proceeding he, the Dewan Peishkar, was cognisant of and consulted on, that the same reasons of displeasure which appear to His Highness to exist towards the present Dewan must be equally applicable to himself, and that he would therefore, if the Resident approve of it, desire to decline undertaking the duties of the office with this difficulty to contend against. I have altogether recognised and approved of the justness of these objections, and it will not therefore be

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Appointment
of Sankara
Variyar.

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STRATIVE
PROGRESS.

possible to give present effect to His Highness' wishes for the removal of the present Dewan ". This difficulty however was finally overcome by His Highness declaring positively that his displeasure did not extend to Sankara Variyar and that he had full confidence in the latter. Venkitasubbayya accordingly delivered over charge of the office of Diwan to Sankara Variyar on the 20th January 1840.*

Sankara
Variyar's
antecedents.

Sankara Variyar's administration marks a new era in the history of Cochin. It was he that laid the foundation of what may be called modern administration, and it was in his time that Cochin for the first time received recognition as a well governed State. The history of the State since this period is one of administrative progress. Born in January 1797 of very poor parents in an obscure village near Trichur and after receiving a fairly good education in Sanskrit, he went to Ernakulam, when a lad of seventeen, to seek his fortune. After many fruitless attempts for two weary years to obtain a livelihood, he was appointed in his nineteenth year to a petty clerkship in the Appeal Court, from which he was transferred a year later to the Diwan's office. Here, his bright intelligence, capacity for work and business-like habits soon attracted the notice of Nanjappayya, and he became the favourite and confidential clerk of that Diwan and accompanied him everywhere. He was rapidly advanced in the service, and when only twenty-four years of age he was promoted to the office of Head Rayasani (head of the correspondence department) in the Diwan's office, which was then a position of trust and responsibility. He held this office for eleven years, during which he devoted all his leisure hours to the study of English. He was then promoted to the office of Huzur Sheristadar and three years later to that of Diwan Peishkar. Soon after his appointment as Sheristadar, he was drafted to the Resident's office by Mr. Casanajor, as he

* Venkitasubbayya settled down in Trichinopoly after his retirement and enjoyed his pension for nearly ten years. The following farewell letter to him from Captain Douglas may prove of some interest to the reader :—" The situation of Dewan, always one of anxiety and requiring both unceasing assiduity and uncompromising integrity, has been to you particularly difficult from the avowed and unswerving and, I must add, unjustifiable hostility with which your person and your acts have been viewed by the Rajah of Cochin, and it is greatly to your honour that, in all His Highness' applications for your removal from office, there has not been assigned a single reason or means of casting a shadow of blame on the excellent character given you by my predecessor Major General Fraser, to add to which my own concurring testimony is the object of the present letter. "

wanted by him an intelligent, experienced and English knowing native officer to consult on matters relating to Travancore and Cochin. He served in this capacity for nearly eight years under three Residents, all of whom entertained a high opinion of his ability and integrity, and marked him out for the Diwanship at the next vacancy, for we find Major General Fraser writing thus to Venkitasubbayya soon after the latter's appointment as Diwan :—" It is most gratifying to me to be able to express the high opinion I entertain of his (Sankara Variyar's) ability and intelligence, which are eminently useful to myself as well as the Sircar, and promise to render him at all times a most useful and valuable servant of the State ".

CHAPTER II.
ADMINISTRATIVE
PROGRESS.

Sankara Variyar appears from the records of his time and from the accounts of his contemporaries to have been a man of sturdy independence, boundless energy, untiring industry and a glowing enthusiasm, and his long administration of seventeen years was crowded with solid achievements in all departments. They are however too numerous to be detailed within the space at my disposal ; their general features alone will therefore be referred to here. While every detail of the administration received his personal attention, his energy was mainly devoted to the larger and more important functions of government—the proper regulation of finance, the execution of useful public works, the expansion of trade and agriculture and the suppression of grave crimes. Throughout his administration he enjoyed two great advantages : he was well served by his subordinates and he was cordially supported by the Resident. His subordinates of all grades, to whom he was discriminatingly considerate, caught something of his energy and enthusiasm, and served him with a loyalty and zeal never known before. Within a few months of Sankara Variyar's appointment, Colonel Maclean, the Resident, died, and was succeeded by General Cullen, who was as distinguished as a scientific observer as he was as a soldier and administrator. Throughout Sankara Variyar's administration, the General gave all the advice, encouragement and support he could to one whom he described as " the present most excellent Dewan of Cochin, by far the most independent, upright, zealous and successful minister that the Sircar have ever possessed ".

His administration.

The financial condition of Cochin had always hitherto been more or less unsatisfactory : the State had for a long time been leading a hand-to-mouth existence. The receipts of each month were generally expended before its close, and there was hardly

Financial.

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ADMINI-
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any money in the treasury at any time. The Sirkar officers were paid only at long and irregular intervals, and that too only partly in money, the rest being in the monopoly articles of tobacco, pepper and salt. Matters improved considerably in the time of Venkitasubbayya ; it was his boast that in his time no officer's salary was ever more than two or three months in arrears. Under such circumstances, public improvements requiring any large outlay of money were obviously impossible, and Sankara Variyar's attention therefore was first devoted to the improvement of the finances of the State. He found that their unsatisfactory condition was due not to the inadequacy of the receipts to meet all the normal charges but to the collection being lax and the expenditure being unregulated, and accordingly he took effective measures to ensure promptitude in the collection of revenue and the adjustment of accounts, and to prevent wasteful expenditure and leakage of funds. He succeeded so well that within a few months of his taking charge the subsidy kists and the salaries of officers began to be paid wholly in money and as regularly as they are in our own times, and though he began his administration with only Rs. 371 in the treasury, his second financial year closed with a balance of nearly a lakh and a half of rupees, of which a lakh was at once invested in Company's securities. The successful management of the finances thus commenced was continued uninterruptedly throughout his administration, so that at the time of Sankara Variyar's death there was a balance of two lakhs of rupees in the treasury and nine lakhs in Company's securities. This success was not achieved by the imposition of any new or additional taxes or by stinting expenditure on public improvements; on the other hand, he signalised almost every year of his administration as much by large outlays on public works and other improvements as by the abolition of some vexatious impost or other.

Public works.

The importance of public works as a factor in the development of the country was not properly realised by any of Sankara Variyar's predecessors. Before his time public works meant merely the construction and repair of pagodas, palaces and public offices, and a few *chiras* or embankments for the protection of agriculture. There was then no carriage road in any part of the State ; for want of suitable bridges and culverts, and causeways across paddy flats, wheeled traffic was impossible and unknown. But the first six or seven years of Sankara Variyar's administration effected a complete transformation in

this respect. By vigorously pursuing a carefully laid out programme of public works, the country was covered with a net-work of roads with massive and substantial bridges and culverts. All the great roads in the State (nearly 70 per cent. of the existing length), all the great bridges except the one at Shoranur, and all the travellers' bungalows except those at Ernakulam and Nemmara were constructed during this short period. Over twenty small Chatrams were built in suitable places for the convenience of travellers, but these gradually came to be occupied solely by Bairagis. The improvement of water communication also engaged the Diwan's attention during this period. By the construction of the Aranattukara canal and the deepening of the Edaturutti canal boat traffic was for the first time rendered possible between Ernakulam and Trichur throughout the year, and by the construction of the Tevera-Kundanur canal the distance by water between Ernakulam and Tripunittura was reduced by more than one half. All these works, while in progress, were constantly inspected by General Cullen and Sankara Variyar, and may in fact be said to have been carried out under their personal supervision.* When most of these works were completed, the Diwan turned his attention to projects of irrigation with a view to bring under cultivation extensive tracts of lands which were then lying waste. A large number of *chiras*, the majority of those now in existence, were constructed during the middle period of his administration, either for the storage of water or for the prevention of the ingress of salt water, and these *chiras* have been the means of bringing thousands of acres of waste land under cultivation. During the last years of his administration, the Mulattara irrigation project was taken up; this work was nearing completion at the time of his death. Most of the large public tanks in Trichur, Tripunittura, Chittur and other places, with their substantial revetments and bathing ghats, also owe their existence to this Diwan.

* Sankara Variyar's administration fortunately synchronised with that of Mr. Conolly in Malabar, where that period was marked by great road-making activity. Consequently, when a road was constructed in Cochin or Malabar up to the frontier, the work was readily taken up by the other party concerned, and the road was continued up to some trunk road. Wheeled traffic was established between Coimbatore and Trichur for the first time in 1844. When one fine morning twelve bullock carts laden with goods from Coimbatore arrived at Trichur, where most people had not seen such a conveyance before, there was by all accounts more excitement in the place than when the railway train first passed through it fifty-eight years later.

CHAPTER II. Sankara Variyar had not much faith in his predecessor's schemes for agricultural improvement ; he seems to have looked upon them as the fads of a theorist. He turned his attention to the more practical scheme of extending agriculture by bringing waste lands under cultivation, and we have seen what means he employed to achieve this end. It is not possible to say exactly what extent of land was newly brought under cultivation by his irrigation projects : it must have considerably exceeded thirty thousand acres. As for trade, Sankara Variyar did much for its expansion not only by extending and improving the means of communication but also by freeing it from many irksome burdens. Before his time inland trade was throttled at every step by the levy of transit duties at a large number of stations, and one of his first acts was the abolition of these duties, which he did "from a conviction of the injury and detriment arising from it to all classes of people and from a knowledge of the unjustifiable exactions and extortions incidental to it". He reduced the inland customs at the frontier stations on all goods more than once in his time, and in the case of rice and other food stuffs he abolished the duties altogether. The monopoly price of tobacco was reduced twice during his time, while the repeated suggestions of the Collector of Malabar to raise the selling price of salt in Cochin to that obtaining in his District were invariably met by a polite refusal. The reduction in the price of tobacco resulted only in a large increase in consumption and a consequent augmentation of revenue from this source, but when this monopoly was abolished in Malabar and Coimbatore in 1853, Cochin suffered a serious loss in its tobacco revenue, which fell suddenly from 225 to 83 thousand rupees. Even this did not deter the Diwan from continuing in his beneficent course of renouncing taxes burdensome to commerce.

Other measures. Among other important measures of this time may be mentioned the abolition of slavery simultaneously in Travancore and Cochin. Slavery prevailed in these States from very early times, and since the time of Colonel Munro, various measures were suggested for the amelioration of the condition of slaves. The protracted discussion of the measures ended in their total emancipation in 1854. The number of slaves so emancipated were no fewer than 58,000, of whom 6,500 belonged to the Sirkar and the rest to private owners. It was during this administration that an English school and a charity hospital

were opened at Ernakulam, institutions which have since developed respectively into the splendid College and General Hospital of our time. In the English school especially, Sankara Variyar took great interest; he inspected it occasionally, and invariably took part in conducting the annual examinations. In 1846, the services of an European tutor, Mr. Robert White, were entertained for the English education of the princes, and during the forty years he held this appointment, several princes attained considerable proficiency in English.

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Sankara Variyar's successful administration of the State did not fail to receive from the Government of Madras the appreciation and praise which it deserved. Early in 1842, when the first signs of improvement began to manifest themselves, they expressed their "great satisfaction at the prosperous condition of the Cochin Provinces, which reflected great credit on the Dewan of the State". In 1843, they went further. "The increasing prosperity of the Cochin Sirkar is highly gratifying to the most Noble the Governor in Council, and reflects great credit on all concerned in its management. His Lordship in Council is glad to observe that the successful administration of the Dewan continues to be marked not only by efficiency and prudence but also by a judicious liberality which cannot fail of the happiest results. * * The greatest attention is paid to the improvement of the internal communications and to the general prosperity of the country". In 1844—"The attention bestowed on the improvement of the roads and other public works reflects great credit on the Dewan, and His Lordship in Council is gratified in again having the opportunity of recording the high opinion he entertains of the conduct of this functionary". In 1845—"It is gratifying to His Lordship in Council to observe that, through the judicious administration of the Dewan, the Cochin Sirkar continues prosperous and that improvements in every department, where necessary, are carried out consistently with a due regard to the interests of the Raja". In 1846—"The Governor in Council remarks with satisfaction on the very prosperous state of the finances of the Cochin Sirkar, attributable to the able management of the Dewan under the judicious guidance of the Resident". In 1847 His Lordship in Council recorded "his sense of the judgment and ability displayed by the Dewan in the management of the affairs of the Sirkar", and congratulated the Resident "on having the efficient and willing co-operation of so enlightened an officer". In 1848—"The merits of the present Diwan

The Madras
Government
on the admini-
stration.

CHAPTER II. of Cochin have been so frequently before Government that His
 ADMINIS- Lordship in Council can only reiterate the high opinion he
 TRATIVE entertains of that zealous and successful minister". Similar
 PROGRESS. appreciative remarks continued to be made by Government
 throughout Sankara Variyar's administration.

The Court of Directors were equally cordial in their ap-
 preciation of the good work done by Sankara Variyar. In
 their general letter dated 28th June 1843, they remarked—
 "Major General Cullen's report, after a tour in the Cochin
 territory, on the prosperity and good government which per-
 vades that State under the present Dewan Shungra Warriar is
 the more gratifying from the contrast it affords with former
 mismanagement,* and we are glad to learn that a sum of
 Rs. 1,05,000 has been saved from the revenue and has at the
 suggestion of the Dewan been invested in Company's securi-
 ties". In July 1844, they said—"The administration of this
 petty State by the present Dewan Shungra Warriar continues
 to be highly successful. The sum of two lacs of rupees has been
 saved and invested in Company's securities, while the same
 success and efficiency that has marked his administration
 of the finances has been exhibited in every other branch
 of the Government, whether revenue, police or judicial.
 Great activity is displayed in the construction of roads and
 other useful public works, and much liberality is shown in the
 renunciation of taxes burdensome to commerce. You very pro-
 perly instructed Major General Cullen to make known to the
 Dewan the favourable sentiments of Government. Such con-
 duct as his deserves all the encouragement which can be given
 to it by a marked expression of your approval". In May 1845—
 "we learn with great satisfaction the continued financial
 prosperity of this petty State and the continuance of econo-
 mical administration, owing to which the Dewan expected to
 have shortly another lac of rupees for investment in Company's
 securities, without neglecting useful public works on which the
 expenditure appears to be liberal. The Dewan is entitled to

* Apart from the great success of Sankara Variyar's administration, its contrast with former mismanagement has naturally influenced the Govern-
 ment in bestowing so much praise upon him. Another and more important
 reason is indicated in General Cullen's letter to the Raja dated 10th February
 1848:—"I think that the marked satisfaction of the Government at the pros-
 perous state of your Highness' finances and Government will be specially grati-
 fying to your Highness, for it is almost the only instance of such successful
 management in any of the Native States that I know of."

much credit for his success in reducing the arrears in the Civil and Criminal Courts". In 1846—"The accounts of the Cochin Government afford additional evidence of the able and vigilant administration of the Dewan Shungra Warriar". In 1848—"The abolition of the tax called *Kalanigudy* (second crop assessment) and the reduction of the monopoly price of tobacco have been agreed to by the Raja. * * This, with the recent abolitions of frontier duties, makes a relinquishment of revenue to the extent of Rs. 41,970 per annum, a relief for which the people are indebted to the successful financial administration of the Dewan Shungra Warriar".

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Sankara Variyar enjoyed the uniform support and confidence of Raja Rama Varma. At first His Highness was naturally a little frigid in his attitude towards a Diwan who was thrust upon him, though, if the choice was left to him, it would have fallen on the same officer. But this frigidity thawed not long after Sankara Variyar's appointment, when His Highness began to perceive the great difference between his administration and that of his predecessors. To have a comfortable balance in the treasury and in Company's securities was a delicious experience after generations of hand-to-mouth existence, and the Raja became extremely cordial towards the minister to whom he was indebted for it. But Sankara Variyar was not destined long to enjoy the favour and regard of the Raja, for His Highness died at Irinjalakuda in May 1844. This was a great blow to Sankara Variyar, and he felt it very keenly.

Death of the
Raja.

When this death was reported to them, the Court of Directors expressed the hope "that the death of the late Rajah of Cochin and the succession of his nephew the Elaya Rajah would not diminish the Dewan's influence or impede his beneficial measures". But this hope was not destined to be fulfilled. Before his accession to the musnad, His Highness appeared to be favourably disposed to the Diwan, but not long after that event his attitude underwent a change. Misunderstandings arose between them at first over trifling matters, but they gradually grew in volume and intensity, and ended in open rupture. Whatever might have been the immediate causes of these misunderstandings, their primary cause was undoubtedly the enunciation of the extraordinary doctrine by the Court of Directors that the Raja had practically no authority over the Diwan. His Highness was an intelligent, high-spirited and self-willed prince, and keenly resented this pronouncement as an insult and humiliation to him. His ambiguous position

His success-
or's relations
with the
Diwan.

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—

naturally made him jealous and suspicious of his Diwan, and pre-disposed him to see an attitude of defiance lurking behind every word and deed of the latter. On the other hand, the Diwan was as high-spirited as the Raja and more masterful; and strong in the consciousness of the good work he was doing and in the assurance of the Resident's support, he was little inclined to brook vexatious interference and opposition from a young and inexperienced Raja. The result was the unedifying spectacle to which the country was treated of a prolonged quarrel between the Raja and his minister. His Highness wrote letter after letter to the Resident to convince him that the country was being ruined by the Diwan's mismanagement of its finances and his general maladministration, but General Cullen's replies, in which he uncompromisingly championed the cause of the Diwan, only added fuel to the fire. The Raja then tried to bring about a dead-lock in the administration by refusing to sanction the appointment of the Diwan's nominees to fill up vacancies and the expenditure of Sirkar money on any projects recommended by the Diwan. But the latter in all such cases made the necessary appointments and incurred the necessary expenditure with the approval of the Resident and "pending His Highness' sanction", and the administration was carried on without any hitch. Upon this, His Highness began to flood the Madras Government with letters containing fiery denunciation of the Diwan and the Resident. Sankara Variyar was "the most subtle and intriguing minister of any Circar"; his conduct was "disrespectful and audacious"; he was guilty of "insubordination and misconduct"; the Resident and the Diwan were "setting up a despotism supported by their own arbitrary doctrines". They were "not only deviating from and infringing on the customs and laws of the land, but were superceding the legislature by fictitious contrivances of their own, which were operating as new laws"; their object was "neither the protection of personal liberty, the security of property, nor the peace of the public", but it was "only the gratification of their mere will and pleasure and resentment". His Highness therefore requested the Government to "adopt measures to prevent them both from having access to his treasury and cause them to account for the vast sums they had expended without his sanction", to order the Resident "not to shield the Travancore Circar in their schemes of gradual encroachments, nor to violate the orders of Government, nor to exercise his power beyond his

just authority, and bring the Dewan to an open trial for his several culpable acts and high misdemeanours".

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Opinion of
the Court of
Directors.

Several letters couched in similar language and containing similar sentiments were addressed by His Highness to the Madras Government, who, after a lengthy correspondence with the Resident on the subject, placed the whole case before the Court of Directors for orders in 1846. "We are much concerned to find", the Honourable Court replied, "that the Rajah has conceived a strong aversion to the meritorious minister to whom the beneficial state of his finances is in a great measure to be attributed, and demands his removal from office on charges, some of which are frivolous and the remainder, as you in concurrence with the Resident believe, altogether groundless. The question has therefore arisen whether you are bound to comply with the Rajah's wish for the dismissal of a Dewan personally obnoxious to him, but in your opinion innocent of the charges alleged against him, and highly qualified for his office". After discussing the terms of the subsidiary treaty, they concluded as follows:— "Our opinion is that under the ninth article of the treaty you are empowered to maintain in office a minister whom the Raja wishes to remove, if you have good reason to believe that the Rajah's displeasure is occasioned, as you hold to be in this case, by the honest endeavours of the Dewan to perform his duty in conformity to the views of the British Government. It cannot be expected that any minister will do his duty faithfully, if his dismissal is the consequence of adherence to it, and therefore, unless Shungra Warriar is supported against the displeasure which he has incurred, all hope of good government for the Cochin territory must be abandoned. * * The Rajah should therefore be informed that Shungra Warriar cannot be dismissed from office unless on some substantial misconduct proved against him to your satisfaction".

After this decision and through the earnest intercession of the Resident, a peace was patched up between the Raja and the Diwan in 1847, but it was unfortunately of short duration, and hostilities broke out again in a few months. At this stage Sankara Variyar thought that it behoved him to retire from office and thereby put an end to an unpleasant and undesirable situation, but General Cullen obstinately refused to listen to any such proposal. The old controversies and disputes were therefore revived and carried on with even greater acrimony. These ceased only a few days before the Raja's death, which took place in July 1851. When he realised that his end was

Death of
the Raja.

CHAPTER II. near, the Raja sent for the Diwan and became cordially
ADMINI- reconciled to him. His Highness is reported to have told Sankara
STRATIVE Variyar that he always considered him the best man then avail-
PROGRESS. able for the high office of Diwan and that he fought for his
removal only on a question of principle, the re-establishment of
the Raja's right to appoint and dismiss his minister at his plea-
sure. Except during the last few months of his life, His
Highness always gave audience to the Diwan whenever he
waited on him, discussed all current matters with him, and
patiently listened to his arguments, but almost invariably they
agreed only to differ. That His Highness was sincerely anxious
for the good government of the country and that he also knew
what measures should be taken to achieve that end are abund-
antly clear from the very letters in which he denounced the
Diwan and the Resident. His furious diatribes were interlarded
with enunciations of many sound principles of government and
many wise suggestions for improving the administration. The
Court of Directors noticed this more than once, and in their
general letter dated 11th September 1850, they said:—"We
regret that the Raja continues to cherish an aversion to this
useful public servant. It is however gratifying to find that the
letters of complaint which he continues to address to the Resi-
dent and to you (which bear obvious marks of European origin)
contain strong expressions of a desire to effect material reforms
and to accomplish the abolition of slavery. Such dispositions
should be encouraged by the Resident".

Raja Vira-
kerala
Varma.

His Highness was succeeded by his brother Virakerala
Varma, the first Raja of Cochin who had received a good Eng-
lish education. But his reign was unfortunately of very short
duration. The young Raja was anxious to improve himself by
making an Indian tour before settling down to his work, and
accordingly, soon after the year of mourning was over, he set
out on his tour in July 1852, with a small retinue and without
any pomp and circumstance of royalty. His Highness even made
a special request to the Madras Government "to dispense with
salutes and other ceremonials of a similar nature" at all his halting
stations. He travelled leisurely by way of Coimbatore, Banga-
lore, Poona, Indore, Bhopal, etc., and reached Benares early in
February 1853. His intention was to continue his travel by
way of Calcutta, Jagannath, Masulipatam and Madras, and
return to Cochin after visiting Rameswaram and other import-
ant stations in South India. But this programme was not
destined to be carried out, for at Benares he had an attack of

small-pox and succumbed to it on the 21st February. No death in the royal family ever cast such a gloom over Cochin as that of this young prince. Intelligent and accomplished, handsome and amiable, His Highness gave bright promise of a prosperous reign; his demise, therefore, in the prime of his life was deeply mourned throughout the State. His younger brother Ravi Varma succeeded him. This prince had neither the high character nor the accomplishments of his lamented brother.

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Both these Rajas treated Sankara Variyar with conspicuous favour and regard, and he had a comparatively easy time since the death of the penultimate Raja. But his own end was not far off. Seventeen years of strenuous and sustained work undermined his constitution, naturally robust though it was, and he died on the 23rd October 1856 after being confined to bed only for a short week. The people of the country looked upon his death as nothing less than a national calamity. His Highness, who felt the loss keenly, gave orders for the funeral being conducted with military honours and all the expenditure in connection with the obsequies being defrayed by the Sirkar. The Resident expressed his "perfect concurrence in this mark of respect paid by His Highness the Rajah to the memory of His Highness' late most meritorious and valuable Dewan". The Madras Government expressed their profound regret at the loss sustained by the Darbar, and the Collector of Malabar deplored the loss of "that most sagacious and accurate officer, the late Dewan Shungra Warriar". The reputation that Sankara Variyar enjoyed and still enjoys in Cochin is altogether unique. For nearly two decades his personality pervaded the State. His beneficent activities were exercised not merely through the ordinary official channels, but also in a variety of other ways. Many a quarrel in respectable families, the ruin of many an old aristocratic family by the extravagance of its managing members, the mismanagement of many a religious endowment, Hindu or Christian, many a ruinous litigation were averted by what General Cullen called "his powerful and unique personal influence" in the country. His hand was seen and his presence felt everywhere, so much so that ordinary folk have come to associate with his name everything good in the administration of the State: not that they know much about it, but they believe that it must be so.

Death of
Sankara
Variyar.

Venkata Rau, who succeeded Sankara Variyar, rose by the same steps as the latter to the Diwanship. When he was Head Rayasani in the Huzur, he was drafted to the Resident's office;

Diwan
Venkata Rau,

CHAPTER II. and, when there, he was first promoted to the Huzur Sheristadar-
ADMINI- ship and then to the Diwan Peishkarship. He had thus con-
STRATIVE siderable official experience, and he had also received a fairly
PROGRESS. good English education. The only administrative measure of importance which was carried out by him was the survey and re-settlement of garden lands, which he started soon after his appointment and completed just before his retirement three years later. During the twenty years preceding this period there was considerable activity in the State in the planting of trees, especially taxable trees, and the object of this settlement was to bring these trees to account. The result of the settlement was an increase of Rs. 39,000 in the land revenue of the State.

His retire-
 ment,

General Cullen had strictly enjoined upon Venkata Rau to conduct the administration exactly on the lines laid down by his predecessor and to attempt no innovations. He followed this advice, and everything went on smoothly at first, but in little more than a year troubles began. Venkata Rau and the Raja's Sarvadhikaryakar or Secretary, Parameswara Pattar of Nemmara, had been good friends for several years, but since the latter became Diwan, misunderstandings began to arise between them, which eventually developed into deadly enmity. They were both equally arrogant, unscrupulous and greedy of power, and their character can be judged from the fact that the Diwan brought a false charge of murder against his quondam friend, while the latter preferred an equally false one of abetment of murder against the former. As Parameswara Pattar's influence was paramount in the palace, the Raja made his favourite's quarrel his own and demanded the removal of the Diwan. In this and in the subsequent squabbles which it is not necessary to detail here, General Cullen supported his protégé as strongly and as uniformly as he did Sankara Variyar, but one important circumstance rendered this support unavailing in the present case. Sankara Variyar enjoyed the hearty sympathy and devoted attachment of the people of Cochin, while Venkata Rau alienated popular sympathy by the reckless high-handedness which characterised his administration since his split with the palace. He removed from all grades of office on frivolous charges many respectable men on the suspicion that they sympathised with the palace party, and installed therein creatures of his own, who proceeded to enrich themselves and their master by exactions from the people. The Diwan also neglected to maintain the *Devasvams* and *Ottupuras* properly, which were then the two most cherished institutions in the State. These and other

sins of commission and omission set the people against the Diwan, and an influential deputation accordingly waited upon the Governor of Madras at Ootacamund and another subsequently in Madras with numerous signed memorials praying for the redress of their grievances. Again, when His Excellency visited Cochin in 1859, over ten thousand people surrounded the Bolghatty Residency, vociferously praying for the removal of their oppressor. The Madras Government now realised that they could no longer, in justice and fairness to the Raja and his subjects, support the Resident, much less the Diwan, and they accordingly allowed His Highness to retire Venkata Rau on pension in April 1860.

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General Cullen retired in January 1860 after an uninterrupted service of twenty years as the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin. Throughout this period he almost set at nought the authority of the Rajas, and constituted himself the virtual ruler of the State.* Such exercise of power eventually made him so autocratic that he began to neglect to carry out the wishes of the Madras Government when they did not coincide with his own. This and the repeated complaints of the Rajas of Travancore and Cochin led the Government of India to advise the Madras Government, which had hitherto endured him on account of his past brilliant services, both military and civil, to suspend the Resident and appoint a commission to enquire into the affairs of Travancore, but the Madras Government were of opinion that the enquiry should precede suspension. When matters reached this stage, General Cullen got out of the difficulty by suddenly resigning his office. He was immensely popular with the people of Travancore and Cochin, and his memory is still cherished by them with affectionate regard. His commanding appearance, his masterly ways and his grand style of living† fascinated the

Retirement
of General
Cullen.

* In a letter to the Diwan dated 15th March 1859, the General says—
“You should have pointed out to the Raja that it was contrary to usage to object to any measure recommended by the Resident. His Highness is quite at liberty to state objections to any proposed appropriation of any portion of the personal allowance of the Raja, but in regard to public money the Resident is the sole judge.”

† General Cullen was a wealthy man, unmarried and without any cares of family. He lived like a Nabob, and moved from place to place invariably attended by a large escort and retinue. Wherever he was, whether in one of the Residencies or in a rural village or even in the jungles shooting, covers were always laid for six to twelve guests at dinner, whether any guests were expected or not.

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people, while his private munificence and the unique manner in which he identified himself with their interests and sentiments made him the idol of their affections.* He constantly visited every nook and corner of the two States, and by his accessibility to the rich and the poor alike made himself acquainted with their wants and grievances, and also took prompt measures for their redress. His retirement therefore evoked an outburst of gratitude and affection from all classes of people. Public subscriptions were raised to found a memorial in his name, which took the shape of a scholarship in Travancore and of a Satram in Cochin. He did not leave the country on his retirement, but settled down in Peermade permanently. He died at Alleppey in 1862. †

* The following extracts from his letters will show how he identified himself with the interests and feelings of the people. Writing from Pullanchattanur in Palghat Taluk, where the Darbar owns a temple with extensive landed property, he says—"The Resident also inspected the pagoda and was sorry to observe its dilapidated condition, a circumstance not creditable to the Cochin Sirkar, nor consistent with that attention that is due to the feelings of the numerous surrounding population. He hopes therefore that immediate orders will be issued for its entire repair". (3rd September 1852). "None of the public works lately undertaken by the Circar have afforded the Resident more satisfaction than that of the large tank called the Vadakay Cherray (the one near the palace in Trichur). If efficiently carried out, it will be a magnificent and most useful work and an ornament to Trichur, especially if the approaches to the pagoda are improved. The Resident would also suggest the propriety of a similar useful work for other castes on the south of Trichur, and he thinks that this might be accomplished by the enlargement and repair of the tank near the Commanding Officer's quarters". (10th March 1851). The Chief Judgeship of the Appeal Court having fallen vacant in 1847, the Raja suggested the appointment of the Munsiff of Coimbatore to the place, when Gen. Cullen replied:—"I am myself very much in favour of the plan of selecting public servants from among your Highness' own subjects, and I think that every encouragement should be afforded to young men of proper qualifications to take service under the Circar". (1st October 1847).

† Rarely, if ever, has a European in Malabar been so beloved by natives; even after his resignation of the office of Resident his opinion was more regarded, and his favour more esteemed, than was that of his successor in the appointment. On his retirement all classes vied which should do him more honour, whilst the richer portions of the community strove to perpetuate his name. In Travancore, the natives presented him with an address and expressed their intention, "to institute in manifestation of their gratitude and regard one or two annual prizes in his name to be open to subjects of Travancore only", and for this purpose they subscribed Rs. 2,500. In Cochin State Rs. 6,000 were raised to erect a Choultry at Vaylum Thavalum for the accommodation and refreshment of wearied travellers, which was to bear his honoured name. The Raja of Cranganur, the Syrian Metropolitan, the Chief of the Muhammedans, the Jewish Rabbi, each headed addresses of regard to the outgoing Resident. The Namburi Brahmans and the heads of the Thirumala Devaswom Pagoda likewise presented addresses to him on his retirement. (Day's *Land of the Perumals*, p. 191).

T. Sankunni Menon, who succeeded Venkata Rau in 1860, was the elder son of Sankara Variyar. He was the first Diwan who had received a good English education and a good training in modern administrative methods. He was in the British service for many years, and it was when he was a Deputy Collector in Tinnevely that he was invited to take up the Diwanship. A man of wide culture and striking personality, a vigorous writer, a resourceful administrator and a perfect gentleman, his appointment was hailed with immense delight and satisfaction by the people. During his long administration of nineteen years, the State made great progress in all directions. The reforms initiated and carried out by him were too numerous to be detailed here; a brief summary of the more important ones is all that can be attempted.

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Diwan Sankunni Menon.

During the first three or four years of his administration Sankunni Menon was considerably handicapped by the machinations of the Sarvadhikaryakar, Parameswara Pattar. Although Sankunni Menon was the Raja's own choice, His Highness constantly thwarted and annoyed him under the influence of his masterful favourite. Nevertheless, the Diwan succeeded in carrying out many important measures during this period through the powerful support of that able and accomplished Resident Mr. F. Maltby, who succeeded General Cullen. The Raja died early in 1864 and was succeeded by his nephew Sir Rama Varma. The latter placed implicit confidence in Sankunni Menon, and, being easy-going by nature and indifferent in his health, His Highness gave a completely free hand to the Diwan, but at the same time watched the course of administration with intelligent interest. Taking advantage of this favourable turn of affairs, Sankunni Menon got Parameswara Pattar promptly dismissed, and deported him to Nemmara.

Raja Sir
Rama
Varma.

Having been a judicial officer in the British service for several years, Sankunni Menon turned his early attention to the improvement of this most important branch of administration. Before his time judicial appointments were conferred on men with no special qualifications; their powers and functions were not clearly defined; they were ill paid and generally corrupt; the law that they were required to administer was extremely vague, being mainly the customary law of the country: and the doors of the bar were open to any one who might choose to enter them. Within a few years of his taking charge, Sankunni Menon had all the higher appointments in the department filled by highly qualified men, graduates in law or barristers, and

Judicial reforms.

CHAPTER II.
ADMINI-
STRATIVE
PROGRESS.

their pay was more than doubled. A number of Regulations was passed to define their powers and duties and to codify the customary law to some extent. Admission to the bar was limited to men with special qualifications, and their duties and privileges were defined by legislation. Munsiffs' Courts were established in all the Taluks for the disposal of petty civil cases. In short, during his time, Sankunni Menon passed as many as eleven Regulations to bring the judicial administration of the State into line with that of British India, and the department acquired a reputation for honesty and efficiency altogether unknown before.

The Inter-
portal Trade
Convention.

The levy of inland customs and the State monopoly of salt, tobacco and pepper had, in the absence of any agreements between the British, Travancore, and Cochin Governments in regard to their trade relations, hitherto proved a source of considerable vexation and embarrassment to the people and the Governments alike. This was especially the case with Cochin owing to the great length of its frontier which is out of all proportion to its area. Tobacco, which was not a monopoly article in the neighbouring Districts of Malabar and Coimbatore, was extensively smuggled into Cochin, while salt, whose selling price here was lower than in Malabar, was equally smuggled into the latter. This unsatisfactory state of things had been for some years a subject of correspondence between the three Governments, which eventually resulted in what is known as the Interportal Trade Convention of 1865. By this convention, Cochin agreed to abolish all inland customs and the tobacco monopoly, to adopt the British selling price of salt and to raise the rates at inland depots so as to place Cochin and British salt on the same footing in the market. To compensate Cochin for the loss incurred by these arrangements, the British Government agreed to make over to the Sirkar a moiety of the customs receipts of British Cochin, and further guaranteed a customs revenue of not less than a lakh of rupees and an import duty on tobacco of not less than Rs. 10,500. Cochin was also allowed to import salt on the same terms as those on which it was imported into British Indian ports. The agreement with Travancore was also on the same lines, except that Travancore did not abolish inland duties altogether, but greatly reduced the number of articles on which such duties were to be levied. This convention has proved a great boon to all the parties concerned: it has given a great impetus to inland trade, done away with the worry and annoyance caused by customs officers, and minimised

the demoralising practice of smuggling. Both the Government of India and the Home Government complimented the Darbar for "the enlightened spirit in which the Cochin State considered the proposals of the Madras Government".

CHAPTER II.
ADMINISTRATIVE
PROGRESS.

Revenue and
finance.

The development of revenue and the regulation of expenditure always received careful attention at Sankunni Menon's hands. Taking advantage of the great rise in the price of paddy since the Settlement of 1866 M. E., he slightly raised the commutation price of paddy in 1862. By this means and by the extension of the irrigation system in Chittur and other works, the land revenue increased by 35 per cent. during his time. Opium and ganja were legitimately made sources of revenue by being converted into Sirkar monopolies in 1861. The introduction of registration of deeds, the revision of the Court Fees Regulation, and the lease of forest lands for coffee cultivation were among other measures adopted by the Diwan to augment the income of the State. The gross receipts increased by nearly 50 per cent. during his time, and this, together with rigid economy in the expenditure, enabled him, notwithstanding the large outlays made by him on public works and other improvements, to invest sixteen lakhs of rupees in Government securities.

Public works of all kinds received a great impetus during this period. A department of public works was organised in 1868 with a European Engineer at its head, and works began to be carried out more systematically than before. All the main roads constructed in Sankara Variyar's time were metalled and improved, and several new roads, mainly feeders, were brought into existence, and a number of bridges constructed, the chief of them being the one across the Shoranur river. The construction of the Monayam and Tiruvanchikulam canals reduced the length of the waterway to Trichur by over six miles, and all the water-ways were kept in good condition, a steam dredger being constantly at work to remove silt wherever it accumulated. Almost all the more important and ornamental buildings in which public offices and schools are now held were constructed or commenced at this time. The irrigation system at Chittur was extended, while the construction of embankments and drainage canals in the Vaipin island rendered a large extent of land fit for cultivating paddy or planting cocoanut trees. Almost throughout his administration Sankunni Menon was in correspondence with railway authorities and financial syndicates with a view to extend the railway to the capital of the State, but he did not live to see the fruition of his labours.

CHAPTER II.

ADMINI-
STRATIVE
PROGRESS.Other im-
provements.

During Sankunni Menon's time, the standard of the Ernakulam school was raised to that of a second grade college, and English schools were opened in all the Taluk centres. The hospital at Ernakulam was greatly improved, hospitals and dispensaries were opened in Trichur and other places, and the operations of the vaccination department were greatly extended. The Sirkar Anchal was thrown open to the public, and arrangements were made for the conveyance of private letters at rates framed on the British Indian model. The salaries of public servants were raised more than once, and a scheme of retiring pension to them was brought into operation—measures which considerably raised the tone of the public service. Among other important measures of this period may be mentioned the opening up of the Nelliampati plateau for coffee cultivation, the provision made for the registration of deeds, the practical abolition of *uzhiyam* services, or the system of exacting compulsory labour for State purposes, and the penalising of the sale and purchase of slaves. Sankunni Menon's great services were recognised by the Paramount Power by conferring upon him the Commandership of the Order of the Star of India.

Sankunni
Menon's re-
tirement.

Sankunni Menon had for some time been in failing health and was anxious to retire, but the Raja would not listen to any such proposal. In 1879 however his health became so bad that His Highness was reluctantly compelled to allow him to retire on pension on the 22nd August of that year. In a graceful valedictory letter His Highness has summarised his minister's services in a manner which can hardly be improved upon. “ * * We shall lose in you a safe and prudent administrator, and it shall be a constant regret that the conduct of affairs will no longer be guided by your wise and sagacious counsels. We fully realise that during your tenure of office the country has made vast progress in material prosperity; the resources of the land have been remarkably developed; commerce and agriculture have been widely extended; and the revenue has attained to an amount that is the highest on record. It is also due to you to state that many useful and well-considered reforms, many judicious acts of legislation, and many wise public measures for the improvement of the judicial, revenue and administrative departments of the State have been initiated under your fostering care, and have produced fruit to the honour of our Government as well as the satisfaction and contentment of our country and people. These services have been recognised by the Paramount Power, which has conferred upon you a substantial token of its

favour and appreciation. The cordial relations between our royal house and the British Government, so happily subsisting, have been steadfastly maintained and cherished under your administration, and there is no duty of loyalty, no political obligation that has been left unfulfilled. * * "

Sankunni Menon was succeeded by his brother Govinda Menon, who was then a pensioned British officer. He kept the administration going on the lines laid down by his predecessor and attempted no startling innovations. The only measures of importance carried out during his ten years' administration were the reorganisation of the Police on modern lines, the enactment of the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes on the lines of the corresponding British Indian Acts, the establishment of the Raja's Court of Appeal, the abolition of the export duty on pepper, the opening of the first English schools for girls and the introduction of the system of grants in aid of private schools. The Chittur irrigation system was considerably extended during his time, and the Ernakulam foreshore was greatly improved by extensive reclamations made from the back-water.

The most important event during Govinda Menon's administration was the settlement of certain long-standing boundary and territorial disputes between Travancore and Cochin. These disputes had for several decades been the subject of acrimonious correspondence between the two States and a source of vexation to both parties. In 1880 both parties agreed, at the instance of the Madras Government, to have the disputes settled by arbitration, and the Government accordingly appointed Mr. J. C. Haunynghton of the Madras Civil Service as arbitrator. The whole length of boundary between the two States was demarcated by the arbitrator after hearing the claims of both parties, and his decision in this matter was final according to the terms of the arbitration agreement. In the territorial cases, of which there were five, the arbitrator's decisions were subject to appeal to the Madras Government. These cases related to the sovereign right over the Idiyara range of hills adjoining Malayattur, the right of Travancore to nominate a person to the office of *Tacchudaya Kaimal* to manage the affairs of the Kudalmanikkam temple at Irinjalakuda, the sovereign right over certain villages appertaining to the Elankunnappuzha, Annamanada and Perumanam temples and the right to manage those temples and their endowments. The first dispute was decided in favour of Cochin by the arbitrator, but his award was reversed by the Madras Government, and the Idiyara range was adjudged to belong to

Diwan Govinda Menon.

Settlement of boundary disputes with Travancore.

CHAPTER II. Travancore. The right of Travancore to nominate the *Tacchudaya Kaimal* was upheld both in original and in appeal, while in the case of the other three temples the right of sovereignty was declared to vest in Cochin, but the right of management of the pagodas and their endowments was awarded to Travancore.* The demarcation of the boundary between British Malabar and Cochin was also commenced during this administration.

Raja Sir
Vira Kerala
Varma.

Raja Rama Varma died in June 1888 after a prosperous rule of twenty-four years, the success of which was recognised by the Paramount Power by conferring on him the Knighthood of the Order of the Star of India. He was succeeded by his brother Sir Vira Kerala Varma, a well educated, well intentioned and amiable prince. As Elaya Raja, His Highness played a prominent part in the State, as, owing to his brother's indifferent health and ignorance of English he was called upon to represent him at most of the public functions. His services in this direction were recognised by the British Government, as some time before his accession to the musnad His Highness was created a Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire. In 1893 His Highness made an extended Indian tour and visited many of the important places in Upper India.

Diwans Ti-
ruvenkata-
chariar and
Subrahma-
nya Pillai.

A little more than a year after His Highness' accession, Govinda Menon retired from the Diwanship, and was succeeded in September 1889 by C. Tiruvenkatachariar, who had been for many years the Zillah Judge of Trichur. Three years later (November 1892), he died while still in harness, when the Diwanship was conferred on V. Subrahmanya Pillai, who had filled the office of First Judge of the Appeal (now Chief) Court for twenty-five years with credit to himself and advantage to the public. Both these Diwans carried on the administration on Sankunni Menon's lines, but hardly left any mark on it. It was during Tiruvenkatachariar's administration that steps were taken for the first time for the diffusion of elementary education. Government primary schools, both Vernacular and English, were opened in various parts of the State, and a large number of private schools were given State aid and brought under inspection. In Subrahmanya Pillai's time sanitation received the attention of the Darbar for the first time, the medical department was thoroughly reorganised and placed under

* In the case of Perumanam, Travancore's right of management was limited to the midday service and the endowment set apart for it. In the case of Elamkunnappuzha and Annamanada, Travancore soon found the privilege of management an inconvenient one, and gave it up in 1901.

a full-time Chief Medical Officer, and its operations were considerably extended. Some useful and necessary acts of legislation also were passed or initiated during his time.

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ADMINI-
STRATIVE
PROGRESS.

Some time after his return from his Indian tour the Raja's health began to fail, and His Highness died on the 11th September 1895, when His Highness Rama Varma, the present Raja, succeeded to the musnad in the forty-third year of his age. His formal installation took place on the 23rd October. Towards the end of the next year His Highness paid his first visit to Madras, and in the succeeding years he repeated the visit several times. In June 1897 the Raja was created a Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India, and in the same year, and again in 1902 and 1907 His Highness received visits from the Governors of Madras. In 1900 the State was honoured for the first time by a visit from His Excellency the Viceroy (Lord Curzon). Towards the close of 1902 His Highness made an extended tour in Upper India, and attended the Coronation Darbar at Delhi, where he was invested with the Insignia of the Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Star of India. In the next year His Highness made a similar tour in Southern India, which was concluded by a visit to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore at Trivandrum in November 1904. The latter returned this visit in the following year. In December 1906 His Highness had the honour of paying his respects to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales in Madras and of receiving a return visit from His Royal Highness. At the beginning of the present year His Highness' salute, which had hitherto been seventeen guns, was raised to nineteen.

Mr. Subrahmapya Pillai retired from the Diwanship in December 1896, and the office was then filled successively by Mr. P. Rajagopalachari of the Madras Statutory Civil Service (December 1896 to August 1901), Mr. S. Locke, Barrister-at-law, Chief Judge of the State (acting from August 1901 to September 1902 and again from March to May 1907), Mr. N. Pattabhirama Rau, a British Settlement Officer (September 1902 to March 1907), and Mr. A. R. Banerji of the Indian Civil Service (from May 1907). The services of these British officers were lent to His Highness for specified periods by the Madras Government.

The remarkable progress that the State has made in all directions during the last fifteen years will be evident from the facts detailed in the departmental chapters that follow. A bare

Recent pro-
gress.

CHAPTER II.
ADMINI-
STRATIVE
PROGRESS.

reference to the more important achievements of the period is all that is needed here. Among the chief measures of the first quinquennium were the complete reorganisation of the account system on the British Indian model, the extension of the railway to the capital entirely at the cost of the State, the commencement of the cadastral survey of the State, the beginning of the scientific working of the forests, and the starting of the construction of a forest steam tramway to provide an outlet for the produce of hitherto inaccessible forests. The second quinquennium saw the practical completion of the survey and the construction of the tramway, the initiation of revenue settlement on a systematic and equitable basis and the improvement of excise administration. In the third quinquennium the revenue settlement was completed, the revenue and magisterial functions were separated, a department of public health was brought into existence, the Devasvam department was thoroughly reorganised and practically disestablished, the account department was placed on a sounder footing, an agricultural department was opened, the improvement of fisheries was taken in hand, an industrial survey of the State was carried out and provision made for industrial and technical education and for the improvement of agriculture and industries. Municipal administration was introduced in some of the towns, efficient and up-to-date methods of working were introduced into all the departments, and departmental procedure was codified all round with a view to ensure continuity of policy. Education has made great strides in these fifteen years, and of the seventy-four Regulations and Proclamations now in force as many as fifty-four were passed during this period. *

* The following figures will give some idea of the magnitude of the progress made during the fifteen years above referred to:—

	<i>In 1870 M. E.</i>	<i>In 1885 M. E.</i>
Land revenue (including Devasvam)	Rs. 7,07,487	Rs. 13,65,427
Forest revenue	„ 1,17,634	„ 7,47,358
Excise revenue	„ 7,79,117	„ 8,58,020
Total revenue (including Devasvam)	„ 20,02,940	„ 41,99,164
Number of State schools	58	75
Do. pupils in do.	4,721	16,031
Do. aided schools	118	250
Do. pupils in do.	8,440	23 437

CHAPTER III.

THE PEOPLE.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS: Density of the population--Urban and rural population--Growth of population--Parent tongue--Malayalam language and literature--Education and occupation--Religion--THE HINDUS: Their religion--Tutelary deities--Demon worship, sorcery and witchcraft--Serpent worship--Other worships and beliefs--Caste system--Marriage and inheritance--Origin of the system--Its present position--CONSPECTUS OF MALABAR CASTES: Social precedence--Namburis--Namburi subdivisions--Elayads and Muttads--Kshatriyas--Ambalavasis--Samantans--Nayars--Nayar titles and sub-castes--Tarakans--Low class Sudras--Kammalans--Izhuvans--Fishermen and Boatmen--Other polluting castes--Slave castes--Hill tribes--FOREIGN CASTES: Tamil Brahmans--Konkani Brahmans--Other Brahmans--Chetans and Kaikolans--Vellalas--Vaniyans and Kudumis--Other castes--DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE: Dwellings--House sites--House names--Ordinary dress--Ceremonial dress--Ornaments--Games and amusements--Festivals--Enangu Social etiquette--Ceremonies--Agricultural ceremonies--THE CHRISTIANS: Origin of Christianity in Malabar--Probable date of its introduction--Early Malabar church--Nestorian--Thomas Cana and the Malabar church--Copper-plate grants to Christians--The Malabar church in the middle ages--Advent of the Portuguese--Synod of Diamper--Revolt of the Syrians--The old and the new church--Carmelite mission--Separation of Rono-Syrian and Latin churches--Roman Catholics--Jacobite Syrians--Reformed Syrians--Chaldean Syrians--Protestants--Church government, ritual, etc.--General characteristics--Survival of Hindu customs--Syrian Christian nomenclature--Statistics of Christian sects--THE MUHAMMADANS: Origin of Muhammadanism in Malabar--Muhammadan races and sects--Characteristics--Religion--THE JEWS: Their first settlement in Cochin--Their subsequent history--White and Black Jews--Characteristics.

COCHIN is the most densely populated of all the districts and States in Southern India except Tanjore. The population, according to the Census of 1901, numbered 812,025, the mean density being 596 per square mile, against 481 in Malabar and 416 in Travancore. If the forest and back-water areas, which are practically uninhabited, are excluded, the density works up to 1,091 per square mile, while in the sea-board tracts, which are more thickly populated than the other parts of the

GENERAL
CHARACTERISTICS.

Density of
the popula-
tion.

CHAP. III. State, the density exceeds 2,000 per square mile. The average
GENERAL number of persons per occupied house is 5·56.
CHARAC-
TERISTICS.

Urban and in their own premises, scattered along the cultivated lands, and
rural popu- do not love to congregate in towns. There is hardly any
lation. village in the State with closely built houses, of the type com-
mon elsewhere in India. The towns themselves, excepting
Mattancheri, have not that urban appearance that they have
on the East Coast. In most of them there are stretches of culti-
vated wetlands and extensive vegetable gardens, and streets,
properly so called, are few and far between. Only 10·8 per
cent. of the people live in towns, and even of this small popula-
tion, two towns out of the seven—Mattancheri and Ernakulam
—account for nearly one-half. The number of persons per
occupied house is 6·27 in towns and 5·49 in villages.

Growth of
population.

The population of the State has increased by 35·9 per cent.
in the twenty-six years ending with 1901. The percentage
of increase in Travancore for the same period was 27·72, and
in Malabar and the Madras Presidency generally for the thirty
years ending with 1901, it was 23·39 and 22·35 respectively.
Between 1881 and 1891, the increase amounted to 20·43 per
cent., and between 1891 and 1901 to 12·33 per cent. The large
increase in the former decade appears to have been due to short
counting in 1881. The increase shown by the Census of 1901
may be taken as representing the normal rate, namely, about
one per cent. per annum. Famine and plague being unknown
in the State, and emigration being almost a negligible factor,
there is nothing to arrest the growth of population according
to this normal rate. In 1901 there were 14,738 Cochin-born
persons living outside the State, while so many as 50,054 out-
side-born persons were living within the State. The balance
of emigration and immigration is thus in favour of Cochin.

Parent
tongue.

Malayalam, the official language of the State, is the parent
tongue of 88·2 per cent. of the population. Tamil is returned as
the parent tongue of 6·7 per cent., the Konkani dialect of
Maharatti of 2·3 per cent., Telugu of 1·6 per cent. and Canarese
of ·5 per cent. The majority of the Tamil, Telugu and
Canarese speaking people are found in the Chittur Taluk, and
consist of domiciled Brahmaus, Sudras and others from the
Districts and States beyond the ghats, while Cochin-Kanayan-
nur accounts for 81 per cent. of the Konkani speaking people
(chiefly Konkani Brahmaus and Kudumi Chettis). The remain-
ing 7 per cent. of the population have returned among them

no fewer than fifteen languages as parent tongue. The great majority of those who have returned languages other than Malayalam as their parent tongue speak Malayalam as well as the languages returned. Most of the Tamil Brahmans, for instance, who have returned Tamil as their parent tongue, read and write Malayalam like any Namburi or Nayar.

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GENERAL
CHARAC-
TERISTICS.

Malayalam belongs to the Dravidian group of languages, and is more akin to Tamil than to any other member of that group. The larger admixture of Sanskrit words and the absence of verbal inflexions to denote person, number and gender mainly differentiate it from Tamil. Though the stem of the language is Dravidian, its vocabulary is largely Sanskrit, partly distorted but mostly in its pure form. In point of literature, Malayalam is poorer than Canarese and considerably more so than Tamil and Telugu. Tunjatt Ezhuthacchan, a Sudra scholar and poet, who lived in the latter half of the sixteenth century, was the father of Malayalam literature, the few works which were composed before his time being not of much importance. He translated the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and other Sanskrit works, and his example was followed and his diction imitated in the subsequent centuries by a number of authors, who produced original works as well as translations from Sanskrit. Though many of these works have considerable poetic merit, their style is somewhat stilted owing to the preponderance of Sanskrit words, against which however a reaction has recently set in. Folk songs celebrating the exploits of popular heroes are numerous: they are the least Sanskritic of Malayalam productions, both in conception and in diction. Barring a very few old works like the *Keralotpatti* and the *Vyavaharamala*, Malayalam had no prose literature till English education began to influence the people. There has been some activity in this direction during the last twenty years or more, but prose works are as yet neither numerous nor of conspicuous merit. Sanskrit is somewhat predominant in Malayalam prose also, though not to such an extent as it is in poetry. This is unavoidable when ideas gathered from Sanskrit and English sources have to be expressed in a language, many of whose original stock of words have become obsolete. The attempts of European scholars like Dr. Gundhert to adapt colloquial language to literary expression have proved ludicrous failures, but their praiseworthy industry in making grammars and dictionaries have given a great impetus to the critical study of the language.

Malayalam
language
and litera-
ture.

CHAP. III.
GENERAL
CHARAC-
TERISTICS.
Education
and occupa-
tion.

The education of the people is dealt with in Chapter IX, from which it will be seen that in this matter Cochin stands ahead of most Districts and States in Southern India. The occupation of the people is discussed in Chapter VI, where it will be shown that a smaller proportion of the population is supported by agriculture, and a larger proportion by industrial occupations, than anywhere else in Southern India.

Religion.

Hindus ...	551,255	(68·2 per cent.), but there is a larger
Jains ...	5	proportion of Christians (21·4 per cent.)
Muhammadans ...	54,192	than is found anywhere else in India.
Christians ...	198,239	Muhammadans form only 6·7 per cent.
Jews ...	1,137	of the population, while the remaining
Animists ...	3,839	·7 per cent. is made up of Jains, Jews

and Animists. Hindus preponderate in all the Taluks. Christians and Muhammadans are proportionately most numerous in the Cochin-Kanayannur and Cranganur Taluks respectively. Jews are found only in Cochin-Kanayannur and Mukundapuram. There are as many as 2,145 places of worship in the State—1,819 Hindu temples and minor shrines, 93 Muhammadan mosques, 196 Christian churches and chapels, and 7 Jewish synagogues.

THE
HINDUS.
—
Their
religion.

Hinduism as it prevails in Malabar* is a compromise between the pantheism of the Aryans and the demonolatory of the Dravidians. The Aryan settlers of Kerala do not seem to have attempted to eradicate the religious conceptions of the Dravidians. They unified the religions of the two races by a process of assimilation. While infusing some of their grander conceptions into the minds of the less cultured races of the south, the Brahmans admitted into their pantheon the gods of the latter. Hence the double aspect of the religion as it now prevails. Even to this day the Brahmans and Kshatriyas and, to a less extent, the Ambalavasis of this coast confine themselves mostly to the graceful forms of Aryan worship, while their attitude towards the mixed worship of the Nayars and others is one of respectful indifference. While, for instance, the former worship the goddess Parvati as *Uma* (light) or *Jaganmāta* (mother of the universe), the latter mingle with those attributes others which are essentially non-Aryan, such as *Kālī* (the black) and *Bhairavi* (the terrible). As for the Hindus who are lower in caste than

* In this Chapter the term "Malabar" is used in its wider sense, and includes the British district of that name and the Native States of Travancore and Cochin. The British district will be referred to as British Malabar.

the Sudras, they worship her only in her most terrible aspects, and instead of the wreaths of blossoms and offerings of flowers which are elements of the Brahmanic ritual, they offer the blood of goats and fowls to propitiate her. This double aspect is typified by the two classes of temples in existence here—the *ambalams*, which are Aryan institutions dedicated to the worship of Vishnu and Siva and their consorts and incarnations, and the Dravidian *kārus*, in which Kāli, Ayyappan, and other gods and goddesses are worshipped, more especially in their malignant aspects. In the latter, only those Brahmans who are not entitled to study the Vedas officiate as priests, and high class Brahmans do not perform some of their ceremonies within their precincts as they do not consider them sufficiently pure.

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THE
HINDUS.

The gods and goddesses enshrined in the *kārus* are the tutelary deities of the villages in which they are respectively situated. They are supposed to keep the demons and spirits of the place in subjection, and by propitiating them the malignant influence of the latter can be warded off. Though the daily service and certain ceremonies recurring monthly and annually are performed by Brahman priests, certain peculiar rites and ceremonies are performed by Sudra priests before the image of the deity drawn on the floor outside the shrine but inside the precincts of the temple on certain days and in private houses on any chosen day. The most prominent feature of these rites is the possession of the *Velichapad* (a man who dedicates his life to the temple for this purpose) with the spirit of the tutelary deity, and in his frenzy of inspiration he speaks, or rather the deity through him, to the worshippers in commanding tones very unlike his own, and often makes oracular responses to enquiries addressed to him. As these deities have control over the demons of small-pox, cholera and other similar diseases, such ceremonies are performed oftener on the outbreak of epidemics.

Tutelary
deities.

Besides the worship of village deities having control over demons, innumerable rites are performed and offerings made to propitiate the demons themselves and to coax them into good humour. There are various kinds of demons supposed to be wandering in mid-air or haunting houses, to whose influence are attributed all illnesses, accidents and other misfortunes in a family. The exorcist is therefore as much in requisition as the physician. He drives away the spirits by incantations and threats, or propitiates them by offerings and sacrifices. The belief in demons and demon worship is so prevalent that there are numbers of people of all castes, from the highest Namburi to

Demon wor-
ship, sorcery
and witch-
craft.

CHAP. III.
THE
HINDUS.

the lowest Parayan, who take up exorcism, sorcery and witchcraft as their occupations. In the case of Panans, one of the castes peculiar to Malabar, these are their hereditary occupations, and the profession is hereditary also in the families of certain Namburis and others. The black art is practised only by the lower classes, chiefly Panans and Parayans, who are supposed to be able to create spells and enchantments in various ways and thereby cause misfortunes and even death. Such calamities can be averted only by the timely intervention of magicians of more power than those who worked the enchantment. One form of the black art, which is also the most dreaded, is peculiar to Malabar, and is known as the *Odi*. A proficient in the art is supposed to be able to assume the form of a bull, a dog or a cat, and, by suddenly appearing before the victim at night or by crossing his path, cause his death or at least make him seriously ill. The evil effects of the *Odiyan's* art and of all magic spells can be averted by carrying powerful talismans on one's person. The most common form of talisman is a magic figure cut or engraved on a gold or silver leaf by an exorcist or sorcerer under certain observances and invocations. The leaf is folded and placed inside a gold or silver locket attached to a string, which is tied round the neck or waist.

Serpent
worship.

Serpent worship is as common as demon worship. The *Sarpa káru*, or serpent shrine, is a prominent feature of almost all the premises on which Hindu houses are built in Malabar. A shady nook of the compound is dedicated to the worship of serpents, whose images carved in granite are placed on a laterite platform erected for the purpose, and consecrated by Namburi Brahmans belonging to a particular family—Pambumekkat—the members of which are believed to have complete control over serpents. A light is placed at the entrance to the shrine every evening, and a *púja* performed by a Brahman at least once a year. The sanctity of the shrine is scrupulously preserved: if it is polluted by the contact of low caste or non-caste people or of caste Hindus under death pollution, purificatory ceremonies are performed to remove the pollution. Neglect in the performance of any of the ceremonies is believed to excite the wrath of the serpents, as does also the removal of any tree or plant from the consecrated ground. Certain diseases and family misfortunes, such as leprosy, blindness and sterility, are attributed to their wrath.

Other
worships and
beliefs.

Ancestors are sometimes worshipped in special *kávús* or in the middle room of the western block (*padinnattin*) of the

dwelling house. Certain animals and trees are held sacred and worshipped, the chief among the former being the cow and the brahmīny kite, and among the latter the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) and the *tulasi* (*Ocimum sanctum*). In the front of every orthodox Hindu house a *tulasi* plant is reared on a small square platform, which is lighted every evening, and the inmates of the house go round the platform three or seven times each morning and evening. Belief in the evil-eye and in bad and good omens is very common. The orthodox Malayali will not embark on any enterprise, even on a short journey, without paying careful attention to omens. Among the many good omens are elephants, cows, swans, white horses, white flowers, ripe fruits, butter-milk, honey, bell ringing, music, etc., and among bad ones are cripples, corpses, barbers, widows, buffaloes, asses, salt, etc. The howling of dogs and the hooting of owls at night are bad omens portending death. Of all augurs, the lizard (*gouli*, *Lacerta gecko*) stands foremost: there is a whole science dealing with what its chirpings, falls, postures, etc., prognosticate.*

Malabar has a caste hierarchy of its own. The gradation of castes and the rules governing hypergamy, endogamy and exogamy are analogous to those obtaining elsewhere in India, but the caste nomenclature and several of the customs and usages are peculiar to Malabar. The broad divisions of caste must have had their origin here as elsewhere in the instinct of race preservation, and the subsequent subdivisions were mainly the result of functional differences and the violation of the rules of hypergamy. The aborigines, the Izhuvans, the Kammalans, the Nayars and the Namburis, representing as they do the successive waves of immigration into Malabar, represent also the primal distinctions of race or tribe; the subdivision of Kammalans, for instance, into carpenters, masons, braziers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and leather workers was obviously brought about by the differences in their occupation, while several of the Ambalavasi castes were the result of the violation of the rules of hypergamy. Further, the tribes that hardened into castes on entering the fold of Hinduism were probably not homogeneous, but consisted of several distinct social groups, which would account for the existence of so many subdivisions among the various race or tribe castes. The Nayars, for example, might, at the time they were brought under Aryan influence, have been divided into a series of social groups, and while outsiders looked

Caste
system.

* See "The Cochin Tribes and Castes", Vol. I, p. 218.

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upon them as forming a single caste, they continued to observe the distinction among themselves, and these social groups in course of time became stereotyped into sub-castes. These several distinctions however do not exhaust all the shades of caste differences observed among the people. There are different sets of sub-castes in different parts of the country, and the members of one sub-caste in one part of Malabar will not inter-dine or inter-marry with the members of the same sub-caste in another part. The subject is thus so complex and many-sided that it is manifestly impossible to enter into the minutiae of it in the space available for its treatment.

Marriage
and
inheritance.

In dealing with individual castes it will be necessary to refer constantly to certain social features which are peculiar to Malabar; a description of those features is therefore essential for the elucidation of the caste system. The chief of them are the *marumakkattayam* system of inheritance and the *Sambandham* form of marriage. *Marumakkattayam* is descent through the female line, or, literally, through sister's children, according to which the family, or *taravad* as it is called, consists of all the descendants of a common ancestress in the female line only. A man's heirs are his sister's children, his own wife and children having no legal claim to his property. The *taravad* is a joint family, and its property is the joint property of all the members, every one of whom is entitled to maintenance from it, but none of whom is entitled to claim partition. Partition can be effected only if all the members agree to it, and when a family is so divided, the several branches will still continue to have community of pollution, that is, when a death or birth occurs in one branch, the members of all the branches have to observe pollution. The branches have no community of property, but if one branch becomes extinct, its property lapses equally to the other branches. The eldest male member, known as the *karanavan*, has the absolute right of managing the family property, except in regard to alienation, which can be effected only with the consent of the *anandaravans*, or junior members. A *karanavan* cannot be ousted from his position except for proved mismanagement or misfeasance. There is no legal marriage among the followers of this system of inheritance. The girls go through two forms of marriage—*Talikettu* and *Sambandham*. The former is obligatory, and is performed as a rule before the girl attains her puberty. The essential part of the ceremony is the tying of the *tali* (a small piece of gold attached to a string) round the neck of the girl by a man of the same or a higher

caste, but this gives the so-called bride or bridegroom no claim upon each other. The object of the ceremony is to give the girl a marriageable status, and it is but a preliminary, albeit obligatory, to the *sambandham* marriage, which it is that launches the parties into the world as husband and wife. The presentation of a bridal cloth by the husband to the wife in the presence of relatives and friends is the chief, but in no way essential, feature of this ceremony. The union, though dissoluble at the will of either party, is intended to be permanent, and, as a matter of fact, is so in the generality of cases. No legal or religious sanction operates as a bar to the dissolution of the tie, and should the parties separate during life or by death, there is no bar of any kind to their re-marriage. The husband should not be of a lower caste than the wife: he may be of the same or a higher caste. He should also be of the exogamous group to which the wife belongs. The woman and her children generally remain in their *taravad* house under the guardianship of their *karanavan*, and are maintained by him out of the *taravad* income; the husband visits them there and supplies them with pocket money for their personal expenses.

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The tradition fostered by the Brahmans ascribes the origin of *marumakkattayam* to the mandate of Parasurama, which ordained that Sudra women should put off chastity and devote themselves to satisfy the desires of the Brahmans. It requires more than ordinary credulity, however, to believe that a whole community gave up at one stroke its cherished system of marriage and inheritance and adopted a radically different one at the fiat of a single individual, even like Parasurama. It is more probable that the legend was invented to harden an existing custom by giving it a divine sanction rather than to account for a radical innovation. The fact seems to be that the ancient family system of the Dravidians of Southern India was matriarchal and that under the influence of the Aryans the system on the other side of the ghats became in course of time assimilated to that of the Aryans. But the cisalpine section of the Dravidians in their isolation continued to cherish the old system, and the Aryans, finding from experience that it could be turned to their own convenience, encouraged its continuance by discovering a divine origin for it. The arrangement was convenient to the Brahmans of Malabar in that it enabled them to consort with Nayar women and enjoy the privileges of matrimony without its cares and obligations. There were also other circumstances which tended to preserve the system unaltered,

Origin of the
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the chief of which was the profession of arms by birth, which subjected the males of the whole race of Nayers to military service from the earliest youth to the decline of manhood, and the constant employment which the misunderstandings and squabbles of the Rajas and chiefs never failed to give them. This was a system of polity not very compatible with the existence among them of the marriage state. The *tali* marriage, which in its ceremonial aspect is not unlike a genuine marriage and by which the girl is united to a symbolical husband, is probably an exotic grafted on to the system under the influence of Brahmans, or it may be the relic of communal marriage such as existed in most of the communities governed by the matriarchal system. The *sambandham* was the real union between man and woman, and was in its origin an extremely simple and loose form of sexual union. Not only did its continuance depend entirely upon the free-will of the parties, but custom sanctioned such union being formed by a woman with more than one man at the same time. That polyandry was once quite common among the Nayers is borne out by the concurrent testimony of a host of European travellers from Nicolini Conti in the fifteenth century to Francis Buchanan in the nineteenth, and as a matter of fact the practice died out only in comparatively recent times.

Its present
position.

English education and contact with the outside world have in recent years wrought a considerable change in the system. Though in theory the system of marriage and inheritance still remains unaltered, in practice the tendency of the people has of late been to rise above the law. Among the better classes of people the practice of the wife living in her *taravad* house and being visited there by her husband is becoming all but obsolete. The wife with her children now lives with her husband and is maintained by him in his life-time. He educates his sons and daughters, and makes provision for their after-life to the best of his means. The *marumakkattayam* law allows every one the right of disposing of his self-acquired property as he chooses during his life-time; such property as might not have been disposed of by gift or otherwise *inter vivos* lapses to the *taravad*. The union of husband and wife is now looked upon as a lifelong one, and not as a fugitive one as in the old days. It is becoming more and more the fashion to inaugurate a *sambandham* by the performance of a regular ceremony. Polyandry has become altogether extinct. It began to disappear with the establishment of British supremacy on

this coast, when arms ceased to be the sole profession of the Nayers. Polygamy, though not known, is looked upon with disfavour by the respectable classes. Even the Rajas and chiefs do not in these days go in for more than one consort.

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The Malabar castes* will be dealt with here in the order of the social precedence which they enjoy in the caste hierarchy. Each main caste has a more or less well defined status in the system, though among some of the sub-castes the question of precedence is often in dispute. Inter-marriage, inter-messing and pollution by touch or approach are the tests by which caste status is determined. The meals prepared by persons belonging to the higher castes can be partaken by those belonging to the lower ones, but the converse is strictly prohibited, especially in the case of females. A high class Namburi male may eat the food cooked by low class Namburis and even by Tirumulpads, but their females cannot. Similarly, Nayar males can partake of the meals prepared by any Nayar without distinction of sub-caste, but a female belonging to a higher sub-caste cannot eat the food prepared by one belonging to a lower one. All Nayar females can eat together in the same room, but those of higher sub-castes may not sit in the same row for the purpose with those of a lower one. Inter-marriage also is generally governed by the same rules as those of inter-dining. A Namburi female can of course be married only in her own class, but a Namburi male can form *sambandham* in any caste below his, but not below that of the Nayars. As a rule, women belonging to the Nayar and the intermediate castes may marry only where they eat, that is, with equals and superiors, but this rule is not so strictly observed in these days as formerly, especially by the Nayars. Pollution is another element for caste differentiation, and there are some features of it which are peculiar to Malabar. A Namburi is polluted by the touch of any one below him in the social scale, while Kammalans and the castes below them pollute him if they approach within a prescribed radius. Similarly, the members of any other castes are polluted by the touch or approach, as the case may be, of the castes below them. Kammalans, Izhuvans and Panans cause atmospheric pollution within a radius of 24 Malabar feet

Social pre-
cedence.

* As these castes have been dealt with in considerable detail in an official publication—*The Cochin Tribes and Castes* by Mr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, the second volume of which is now in the press—a detailed treatment of the subject is superfluous here. A concise account of the leading features of each caste is therefore all that is attempted in this book.

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(about 19 English feet), Valans and Arayans 32 feet, Kanakkans and Kutans 48 feet, Cherumans 61 feet, Parayans, Nayadis and the hill tribes 72 feet. Some castes, low in the social scale, like the Parayans and Nayadis, cause mutual pollution by approaching each other. Besides these kinds of pollution, there is what may be called ceremonial pollution. A death or birth in a family causes such pollution to all members of the *taravad* in all its branches, and such pollution is also entailed on women during their monthly periods and after delivery. The duration of the ceremonial pollution varies according to the status of the different castes, the highest having the shortest period, but in the case of monthly periods, the duration is three days uniformly. Pollution of all kinds, however acquired, can be removed only by complete immersion in water, either in a tank or in a stream. In the case of death pollution and women's special pollution, certain purificatory ceremonies, besides immersion in water, are necessary to remove the taint. Similar ceremonies are also required if a Brahman or a Kshatriya is touched by members of castes below them when under death, monthly or delivery pollution.

Namburis. The Namburis form but a small community numerically, but owing to their character, intelligence, wealth and social position, their importance considerably exceeds their numerical strength. This importance however has been on the decline during the past half century, which is mainly due to their caste exclusiveness and conservatism. Their influence in State councils, which was once supreme, is now a negligible factor, and on account of their objection to English education, they are being elbowed out by other castes from almost every literate walk of life. They are in general a god-fearing, truth-loving and law-abiding people, and their simplicity and inoffensiveness are proverbial. They follow the *makkattayam* system of marriage and inheritance, but as a rule only the eldest sons marry in their own caste, while the other members form *sambandham* union with Kshatriya, Ambalavasi and Nayar women. Their women are called *Antarjanams* (indoors-people), and are the only *goshas* in Cochin. They generally marry after puberty, and their chastity is jealously guarded. In cases of conjugal infidelity on the part of Namburi women, all involved in it are punished with excommunication. The pollution period of the Namburis is ten days; but if the birth or death is in a distantly related family, the period is only three days.

The Namburis are divided, on the basis of certain rights and privileges enjoyed by them, into ten social groups. The rights are those of (1) performing holy sacrifices, (2) teaching the Vedas and Sastras, (3) officiating as family priests, (4) becoming a Sanyasi, (5) officiating as priests in temples, (6) studying the Vedas, (7) cooking for all classes of Namburis, (8) taking part in the performance of Sastrangam Namburis, (9) bathing in the same ghat with other Namburis, and (10) messing in the same row with other Namburis. The highest class of Namburis enjoy all the privileges, the next class enjoy nine (the second to the tenth in the list), and so on, till we come to the last class, whose only privilege is to dine in the same row with other Namburis at a feast. The Namburis may again be divided broadly into two groups, Vedic and non-Vedic (the *Ottanmar* and *Ottillattavar*), the first six of the above groups belonging to the former and the last four to the latter. The great majority of the Vedic Namburis follow the Rig Veda, the followers of Sama and Yajur Vedas being each confined to two out of the sixty-four Namburi *gramams* or colonies. The Rig-Vedic Namburis are all members of one of two *yogams* or unions—Trichur and Tirunavaya—the former being adherents of the Cochin faction and the latter that of the Zamorin. Among the Vedic Namburis, the *Adhyans*, of whom Azhuvancheri Tambarakkal is the head, occupy the most prominent position. There are several groups (known as *grihams* or houses) of Adhyans, such as the *Ashtagriham*, the *Akarurgriham*, etc., and of these the Adhyans of *Ashtagriham*, or eight houses, take the highest rank. All Adhyans have the honorific title of Namburipad (*pad* meaning authority), a title, however, which is now usurped by some others who have no claim to it. The *Asyans*, as the high class Namburis who are not Adhyans are called, enjoy all the rights possessed by the Adhyans, the only difference between them being that the latter are considered to have attained such a stage of sanctity that they are absolved from the necessity of performing *yagam*s (sacrifices) and observing *vanaprasta* (dwelling in the jungle) and *sanyasa* (renunciation of secular interests). The Asyans perform sacrifices, which are of three kinds, *viz.*, *adhanam*, *agnihotram* and *somayagam*. Only those who have performed the first can perform the second, and the performance of the first two must precede that of the last. The performance of Adhanam confers on the sacrificer the title of *Aditiripad*, and that of Agnihotram and Somayagam the titles of *Akkittiripad* and

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Chomattiripad respectively. All the Vedic Namburis who are not entitled to perform sacrifices and to *teach* the Vedas are known as *Samanyans*. They are all entitled to study and recite the Vedas and officiate as priests. Among the Vedic Namburis, some are hereditary *Tantris*, who are the highest temple priests and whose authority is final in all matters of temple ritual, *Varhyans*, who preside over the *yogams* and the Vedic schools at Trichur and Tirunavaya, *Vaidikans*, who decide all matters relating to caste, and *Smartans*, who preside over caste tribunals. The non-Vedic Namburis also are subdivided into various groups. Among them are the *Mussads* or *Ashta-Vaidyans*, whose hereditary occupation is the study and practice of medicine in its *eight* branches and who are debarred from studying the Vedas on account of their calling, which necessitates surgical operations and the consequent shedding of blood, the *Sastrangakars*, or more correctly *Kshatrangakars* (military Brahmans), who are believed to be the descendants of the Brahmans who were engaged in military service in the olden days, and the *Graminis*, who were engaged in administering *gramams*, or Namburi colonies. The *Sastrangakars* are now divided into eighteen bands, who play with shield and sword in what is known as *Yatrakali* or *Sunkhakali* on the occasion of marriages and *Masams* (or first anniversary of one's death). All Namburis are divided like other Brahmans into exogamous *gotras*, the best known *gotras* among them being Kasyapa, Bhargava, Bharadvaja, Vasishtha and Kausika.

Elayads
and
Muttads.

Elayads are Brahmans who suffered social degradation for having officiated at the funeral rites of the Nayars. They are now the hereditary family priests of the Nayars, and in regard to marriage, inheritance, pollution, etc., they closely follow the usages of Namburis. The *Muttads* (sometimes called also *Mussads*) perform some of the duties in temples which Ambalavasis perform, and are therefore considered by some to belong to the latter class. But they also carry the idols when taken out in procession, which no Ambalavasi is entitled to do, and like the Elayads they follow the usages of Namburis. They are said to have suffered social degradation for having tattooed their body with figures representing the weapons of Siva and for partaking the offerings made to that god. The women of the Elayads are called *Elormas* and those of the Muttads *Manayummas*: both are *goshas* like Namburi women.

Kshatriyas. The practice of hypergamy and the adoption of *marumakkattayam* by the Malabar Kshatriyas have led some writers to

question their claim to be considered real Kshatriyas. But the fact that the Brahmans treat them as such and partake of the meals prepared by them must be looked upon as a sufficient vindication of their claim. The Kshatriyas are known as either *Tamburans*, *Tambans* or *Tirumulpads*: this is a subdivision not by caste but by position. The Tamburans are members of ruling families, while the Tambans are those who were once ruling chiefs but have since lost their political power. All the rest are Tirumulpads. Their women are called *Tamburattis*, *Tambattis* and *Nambashтарыs* respectively. In their personal habits, observances and ceremonies the Malabar Kshatriyas are very like the Namburis, who act as their priests in all their ceremonies. They observe pollution for eleven days, follow the *marumakkattayam* law of succession, and have two marriages like the Nayers, the *Tali* and the *Sambandham*.

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Ambalavasi (literally, temple-resident) is the generic name of a group of castes whose hereditary occupation is temple service. They are mostly either degraded Brahmans or the offspring of hypergamy. The *Nambidis* are said to be the descendants of certain Brahmans who were degraded for assassinating one of the Perumals. They observe pollution for only ten days like the Brahmans, and Namburis officiate as priests in all their ceremonies. Their women are called *Manolpads*. The *Adikals* also are Brahmans degraded for having officiated as priests in Bhadrakali temples and made offerings of flesh and liquor. Their women have the title of *Adiyammas*. *Chakkiyars* are the offspring of adulterous Namburi women, born after the commencement of their guilt but before its discovery and their expulsion from caste. Boys so born, who have already been invested with the sacred thread, become Chakkiyars, and those who have not been so invested become *Nambiyars*. The girls join either caste indifferently. Their females are called *Illotammas* and *Nangiyars* respectively. The traditional occupation of the Chakkiyars is the recitation of passages from the Puranas, with commentaries interspersed with witty allusions to current events and to the members of the audience. The Nambiyar accompanies the performance on a metal drum called *mizharu* and the Nangiyar keeps time with a cymbal. The Chakkiyar wears the holy thread, but the Nambiyar does not. The former may marry a Nangiyar, while the latter cannot marry an Illotamma. *Pushpakans* are, as their name implies, engaged in collecting flowers and making garlands for making *pūja* to the idols and for adorning them. Pushpakan is the generic name

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of the caste, the particular local names being *Nambiyar*, *Namibi-yassan* and *Unni*. Their women are called *Pushpinis* or *Brahmanis*, whose profession is to sing certain songs in Bhadrakali temples and at the *tali* marriage ceremonies of the Nayars and others. *Tiyyattunnis* or *Tiyyattu Nambiyars* have for their occupation the performance of a ceremony in Bhagavati temples, called *Tiyyattam*, in which they paint the image of the goddess on the floor in lively colours, and chant certain propitiatory songs, especially to check the spread of small-pox. Chakkiyars, Nambiyars, Pushpakans and Tiyyattunnis observe pollution for eleven days. All the above mentioned Ambalavasis except Nambiyars wear the sacred thread, but the other Ambalavasis have not that privilege and have to observe pollution for twelve days. *Pisharodis* and *Variyars* sweep the temple premises, clean the temple utensils, collect flowers and make garlands, while the *Puturals* are the stewards of the temples. Their women are called *Pisharasysars*, *Varasysars* and *Puturalsysars* respectively. The Pisharodis are said to be the descendants of a Brahman novice, who, when about to be ordained a Sanyasi, ran away after he was divested of the holy thread but before his head was completely shaved. In memory of this, they are buried like the Sanyasis in a sitting position and the grave filled with salt and paddy. The Variyars and Puturals are believed to have had their origin in the union of Namburis with Nayar women. *Marars* are temple musicians, but unlike the other temple servants they observe pollution for fifteen days. They eat the food cooked by other Ambalavasis, and the males of Pisharodi and the Variyar sub-castes dine with each other. With these exceptions, there is no inter-dining or inter-marriage between the several sections of Ambalavasis. They follow the *marumakkattayam* law, all except Tiyyattunnis and Pushpakans. The former follow the *makkattayam* system, while among the latter some follow the one system and the rest the other. The majority of Ambalavasis still follow their hereditary occupation, but many among them now are land-holders, Government servants, medical and legal practitioners, and school-masters. Sanskrit education has made more progress among them than among any other class except the Namburis, and they are now taking to English education. In the latter respect, the Variyars are perhaps the most progressive among them.

Samantans. The *Samantans* are said to have sprung from the union of Kshatriya males with Nayar females. The caste is not indigenous to Cochin, and those who have returned themselves as

such are either natives of British Malabar or are Nayar aristocrats who have of late begun to like to be considered superior to the ordinary Nayars in caste. They do not wear the sacred thread. Like the Kshatriyas they follow *marumakkattayam* and observe pollution for eleven days.

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The *Nayars*, with the Namburis and Ambalavasis, form the most characteristic section of the people of Cochin. From the earliest times down to the beginning of the last century they were a martial people, and formed the militia of the country. The *nad* and *tara* organisation, the national assemblies, the mode of warfare, etc., of those days have already been dealt with.* The martial spirit of the Nayars has during a century of unbroken peace almost died out, but its traces still linger in some of their titles and games, and in the *kalaris* (gymnasias or fencing schools) which are still attached to some of their houses. Though they have greatly degenerated in this, they are making considerable advance in other respects. English education has made marked progress among them, and they are found in all the literate walks of life in large numbers. While a section of the Nayars has thus exchanged the sword for the pen, a still larger section has exchanged it for the plough. The great majority of the latter are petty farmers and agricultural labourers, though there are among them some large land-holders and substantial farmers. Domestic service is another pursuit in which the Nayars are largely engaged, servants in well-to-do caste Hindu families being almost entirely recruited from this caste. All Nayars follow the *marumakkattayam* family system, and their women form *sambandham* union with men of equal or higher caste. Their pollution period is fifteen days.

The Nayars are divided into a number of sub-castes, some of which are known by different names in British Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. The highest sub-caste, for instance, is known as *Kiriyam* in Malabar, while in Cochin it is generally called *Vellayma*. Most of the aristocratic families and also many poor ones belong to this sub-caste. Next comes the *Sudra* Nayar, who is attached to Namburi or Kshatriya houses for certain services, religious and domestic: if attached to a Namburi house, he is also called *Illattu* Nayar and, if to a Kshatriya house, *Svarupattil* Nayar. *Charna* Nayars are attendants of Rajas and chiefs, but the sub-caste is not indigenous to Cochin. *Pallichans* are palanquin bearers to Brahmans, and *Vattekadans* are oil-mongers for temples and Namburi houses. *Odattu* Nayars tile temple buildings and

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* *Ante*, pp. 48, 51, 57—9.

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Anduru Nayars make earthen vessels for temples, while *Attikurussi* Nayars or *Chitikans* act as purifiers and quasi-priests to the other Nayars. These are the main subdivisions, but there are shades of differences within each sub-caste which are too numerous and too subtle to be dealt with here. Every Nayar has a title affixed to his name, which is conferred upon him by the Raja as a hereditary or personal distinction, while those who have received no title in this manner—the Nayar proletariat—affix the title Nayar to their names. The title does not indicate one's position in the caste hierarchy, as the Raja can confer any of these titles without reference to the sub-caste of the recipient. *Acchan*, *Karta*, *Kaimal* and *Mannadiyar* are among the titles of nobility, while *Paniker*, *Kurup* and *Kurupal* are the titles of those who maintain *kalaris* as their hereditary profession. *Menon* is the title which was in the old days generally conferred on the Nayars who followed a literate occupation and which is now most in use among the upper middle classes. It is the only title now conferred by the Raja as a personal distinction, but in these days many Nayars assume it without any such formality.

Tarakans.

The *Tarakans* (literally, brokers) appear to have been Tamil Sudras who settled on this side of the Palghat Gap with a view to act as trade medium between the Malayalam and Tamil countries. They gradually adopted most of the customs and usages of the Nayars, and have in recent years been practically assimilated with them. In this State they are found only in the Chittur Taluk. They follow *makkattayam*. Their women wear a thick string round their neck, by which they are distinguished from other Nayar women.

Low class
Sudras.

There are four intermediate castes between Nayars and the polluting castes that may be called low class Sudras for want of a better generic name. Their touch will pollute the Nayars and the higher castes, and they are not allowed to enter even the outer precincts of Brahmanical temples. Of these four castes, *Veluttadans* are the washermen, and *Velakkattalarans* the barbers, of all castes above them. They follow *marumakkattayam*, and are like the Nayars in most of their customs and usages. But the *Velakkattalarans* have to observe pollution only for ten days. The *Cholians* are hereditary weavers who weave the coarse cloths that are generally used by the poorer classes. Most of them follow *marumakkattayam* and to a great extent resemble the Nayars in their customs, but some among them follow *makkattayam*. *Kadupattans* are popularly supposed to be the descendants of *Pattar* Brahmans degraded for having eaten *kadu*, a kind of fish. The derivation is clearly a fanciful one, the only circumstances that lend

support to it being that they follow *makkattayan* and observe pollution only for ten days. There is a peculiarity in their system of inheritance, namely, that in the absence of sons the father's property does not descend to his daughters but to his nearest male relatives. Kadupattans are also called *Ezhutacchans*, as in former times they were largely employed as village school masters. The sale of salt was one of their chief occupations when salt used to be manufactured in the State. They are now chiefly engaged in agriculture and general labour.

The *Kammalans* are among the first of the polluting castes, *Kammalans*. They are divided into a number of endogamous sub-castes—*Marasari* (carpenter), *Kallasari* (mason), *Musari* (brazier), *Karuvan* (blacksmith), *Tuttan* (goldsmith) and *Tolkollan* (leather-worker). As their services are much in requisition and as they earn better wages than unskilled labourers, they are all still engaged in their hereditary occupations. The first five groups are socially on a par with each other. They all inter-dine but do not inter-marry. But the *Tolkollans* are considered inferior in status to the rest and cannot touch them without causing pollution, probably on account of their work in leather, which in its raw state is considered impure. They all follow the *makkattayan* system, but they perform the *tali* marriage like the Nayers as distinct from the real marriage. Polyandry of the fraternal type was prevalent among them, several brothers marrying one wife and the children being treated as common to all. This practice is however fast dying out, if it has not already done so. The *Kurups*, who form a sub-caste among them, are their priests as well as barbers, and officiate at their marriage and funeral ceremonies.

The *Izhuvans* or *Chogans*, who correspond to the *Tiyyans* *Izhuvans*. of British Malabar, are believed to have immigrated from Ceylon and introduced the cultivation of the cocoanut palm. Cocoanut growing and toddy drawing are still the hereditary occupations of the *Izhuvans*, but as they are numerically the strongest caste in Cochin, a great many of them have taken to other occupations, chiefly agriculture. They are an industrious and law-abiding people, but in point of education they lag considerably behind the *Tiyyans* of Malabar. Of late, however, there have been indications of a ferment, which may in a generation or two leaven the mass of *Izhuvans*. They are taking to English education, albeit very slowly, and have also begun to enter the portals of Government service. The *Izhuvans* in

CHAP. III. Cochin-Kanayannur follow *marumakkittayam* and those in
 CONSPICUOUS OF the rest of the State *makkattayam*. Among the former,
 MALABAR CASTES. divorce and widow marriage are allowed. The head-men of the
 Izhuvans are called *Tandans*, and are appointed to that position
 by the Raja. They are to perform certain specified functions,
 and are entitled to fees, at marriage and other ceremonies.
Vattis or *Kavutiyans*, who are the priests and barbers of
 Izhuvans, form a distinct sub-caste inferior in status to the
 latter. Their pollution period is fifteen days.

Fishermen and Boatmen. Of the castes whose hereditary occupation is fishing com-
 bined with boat-service, the *Valans* and the *Arayans* are the
 most numerous. The former are engaged in fishing in the back-
 waters, and the latter, who are also called *Kadalarayans*, or sea
 Arayans, are engaged in sea-fishing. *Amukkurans*, who are a
 sub-caste of Arayans, are the priests of Valans as well of Ara-
 yans. *Mukkuvans* are fishermen dwelling on the sea-coast, and
 are said to be immigrants from Ceylon along with Izhuvans,
Marakkans, of whom there are but very few in Cochin, are boat-
 men, and do not engage themselves in fishing. These castes
 do not inter-marry or inter-dine with each other. They all
 follow *makkattayam*, and their customs and ceremonies are
 more or less similar to those of *makkattayam* Izhuvans.

other pollut- There are several other polluting castes more or less equal in
 ing castes. status to the Kammalans and Izhuvans and with customs and
 usages similar to theirs. Among them are *Kaniyans* or *Kanisans*,
 who are professional astrologers and whose services are in
 constant requisition for casting horoscopes and for fixing pro-
 pitious hours for marriage and other ceremonies; *Panans*, who
 are exorcists and necromancers, and are much feared by the
 ignorant low castes for their supposed power over evil spirits and
 constantly requisitioned in consequence to exorcise devils; *Vilku-
 rups*, who are engaged in making bows and arrows and palm-leaf
 umbrellas; *Mannans* and *Velans*, who are washermen to the
 polluting castes, but whose services are also required by caste
 women for purification after delivery and monthly periods;
Pullurans, who are singers in serpent groves; and *Pattilans*, who
 are barbers serving most of the polluting castes above mentioned.
 All these castes follow *makkattayam* and observe pollution for
 fifteen days.

Slave castes. Predial slavery existed in Cochin from time immemorial,
 but the slaves were emancipated, and their purchase, sale and
 mortgage made penal by a Proclamation issued in 1854. The
 quondam slaves however still retain their original castes, of
 which there are several, and they form about a tenth of the
 population of the State. *Kanakkans* are good boat-men as well
 as agricultural labourers, and are comparatively better off than
 the other slave castes. *Cherumans* or *Pulayans*, who form the

great majority of the slaves, are all engaged in field labour—ploughing, sowing, crop-watching and reaping—and are paid in kind. *Tanda-Pulayans*, who are found only in the south-western corner of the State, are so called on account of the peculiar dress made of grass (*tanda*) that they wear. They cause atmospheric pollution even to the Pulayans. *Kutans* and *Vettuvans* also are agricultural labourers. *Parayans* are the lowest among the slave castes. They live by making mats and baskets and practising witchcraft. As magicians, their principal cult is the *Odi*, the patron goddess of which is *Nili* of Kalladikod. *Vallurans* are the priests of the slave castes, and are much respected by them for their power over evil spirits. All these castes follow *makkattayam*, and like the *Izhuvans* and others, they perform the *tali* marriage as well as the real marriage. Divorce is very common among them, and requires hardly any ceremony, and the marriage of widows is freely allowed. The members of all these castes are profoundly ignorant and superstitious, steeped in abject poverty and subjected to many vexatious and degrading restrictions and disabilities. Their emancipation from slavery has made no improvement in their material condition: they have neither the pluck nor the intelligence to take advantage of their freedom. By conversion to Christianity or Muhammadanism they can raise themselves at one bound above all the polluting castes, but their deep-rooted ignorance and superstition prevent them from availing themselves of this chance.

The *Kadars* and *Malayars* are the most typical of the hill tribes of Cochin. The former are confined to the Nelliampattis and Parambikolam, from which other hill tribes are excluded, while the *Malayars* are found in most other forests. They are both nomadic in their habit, and move their villages from place to place during the different seasons. They are excellent trackers and tree-climbers, and are useful in the collection of minor forest produce. The *Kadars* are a short muscular people, of a deep black colour, with thick lips and curly hair; true sons of the jungles, they are averse to making their appearance in the plains. The *Malayars* do not differ in appearance from the *Pulayans*, and are less wild and less averse to manual labour than the *Kadars*. During the working season the *Kadars* and *Malayars* live on the rice supplied by the forest contractors, and at other times on such animals as they are able to trap and on wild yams, bamboo seeds and other forest products. The *Malayars* make good bamboo mats and baskets like the *Parayans*. The *Malayars* of the Chittur forests are called *Malasars*, or *Kongu Malayans*,

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FOREIGN
CASTES.
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and are supposed to have been immigrants from the Coimbatore forests. They speak a *patois* more akin to Tamil than to Malayalam. All the hill tribes follow *makkattayam*. They cause atmospheric pollution even to the slave castes. *Ullatans* and *Nayadis* live in the outskirts of the jungles. The former are employed in felling trees, scooping out logs for boats and in agricultural labour, and the latter in the watching of crops in the plains and beating for game in the jungles. The *Nayadis* are the laziest and most uncleanly people in the State, and eat the most dirty reptiles and vermins.

FOREIGN
CASTES.

About 15 per cent. of the Hindu population of the State belong to castes which are not indigenous to Malabar. They retain most of the habits, customs and usages of the original stock from which they separated when they immigrated into Cochin, and it is therefore not necessary to describe them in detail here. As however most of them are permanent settlers and have been domiciled subjects of the State for centuries, some notice of the most prominent among them is not uncalled for. All of them follow *makkattayam*, and differ from indigenous castes in language, dress, mode of wearing the tuft and several other customs and usages. But contact with the Malayalis for centuries has made some change in their manners and customs, such as the wearing of *mundus* by many of their males, the observance of pollution by touch, approach, etc. The most important and numerous of these castes are the Tamil and Konkani Brahmans, Vellala Sudras, Chetans, Kaikolans and Kudumi Chettis.

Tamil Brah-
mans.

Tamil Brahmans, or *Pattars* as they are called here, are ubiquitous in the State, and are more numerous than the Namburis. By their intelligence, education and enterprise, they have attained a prominent position everywhere. They are employed in all grades of Government service and are conspicuous in all the learned professions. A good many of them are traders, money-lenders, land-holders and farmers, while the poorer among them are engaged in domestic service. They have rendered their personal service indispensable to all the princely and aristocratic families, where large numbers of them are employed in various capacities, especially as cooks. They are as good Brahmans as the highest class of Namburis from a spiritual point of view, but the latter will not admit such equality. Namburi women, for instance, will not take the meals cooked by Pattar Brahmans, nor will the men allow them to take part in their religious ceremonies. They are also not allowed access to the inner shrines of Namburi temples, nor to touch the Namburis when engaged in their devotions and ceremonies.

Konkani Brahman are a branch of the Sarasvat subdivision of Pancha Goudas, and are so called because they are immigrants from Konkan. They are said to have taken refuge in Cochin and Travancore in the sixteenth century to escape from persecution when the inquisition was established at Goa. During the time of the Dutch they were under the protection of their East India Company, but since the overthrow of their power here the Konkans have been subject to the laws of Cochin. They speak the Konkani dialect of Mahratti, and are found only in the southern Taluks. They are Vaishnavites, being followers of Madhavacharya, and have well-endowed temples of their own in the State. The Namburis and other Brahman will not treat them as Brahman: not only will they not inter-dine with them, but they will not even allow them access to their temples and tanks. The Konkans return the compliment by refraining from dining with other Brahman and by refusing them admission to their temples. By occupation they are mostly traders and shop-keepers, but there are some land-holders also among them. As a community they are not so prosperous now as they used to be in the olden days.

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—
Konkani
Brahmans.

Embrans are Brahman immigrants from South Canara, and are treated almost on a footing of equality by the Namburis. They are mostly employed as officiating priests in the temples of the State; a few of them are employed as cooks by Brahman and Kshatriyas. Their language is Tulu. *Gouda* Brahman are mostly religious mendicants and are nomadic in their habits. They speak Telugu, and it is not clear why they are called Goudas. There are a few Telugu and Mahratta Brahman also in the State, but their number is very small.

Other Brah
mans.

Chetans or *Devanga Chettis* and *Kaikolans* are weaving castes, and are found only in the Chittur Taluk and in the eastern portion of the Talapilli Taluk. The former are immigrants from Mysore and speak Canarese, while the latter hail from Coimbatore and has Tamil for their mother tongue. The Chetans wear the sacred thread, and Chetti is their agnomen. Some of the Kaikolans, probably an earlier batch of immigrants, have their tuft in front and speak Malayalam. Most of the Chetans and Kaikolans are still engaged in weaving, but among the former, who are a more thriving community than the latter, there are some land-holders and cultivators.

Chetans and
Kaikolans.

Vellalas hold the highest position among the Tamil Sudras, and agriculture is their chief occupation. The Cochin Vellalas, who are found mostly in the Chittur Taluk, are immigrants from Coimbatore and Salem, and belong therefore to the *Kongu*

Vellalas.

CHAP. III. branch of the caste. Brahmans do not officiate at their marriage ceremonies as they do in the case of other divisions of FOREIGN CASTES. Vellalas. Agriculture is the occupation of most of them, and some are traders as well. *Goundan* is their title, and their pollution period is fifteen days.

Vaniyans and Kudumis. *Vaniyans* are Konkani Vaisyas, and *Kudumi* Chettis are Konkani Sudras. The former wear the sacred thread and resemble the Konkani Brahmans in their habits. There are some good gold and silver workers among them, but most of them are petty traders. These Vaniyans are to be distinguished from *Chakkans*, who are also sometimes called by that name. The latter are oil-pressers from the Tamil country, who also wear the holy thread. Kudumis serve as the domestic servants of the Konkani Brahmans, and live in their midst. They are among the most illiterate classes of the population, but for capacity for continued hard work they are unrivalled. They are employed in all kinds of unskilled labour, and are also good boat-men. The Vaniyans have their own priests, who are called *Panditans*, while Konkani priests officiate for the Kudumis. The pollution period is ten days for the former and fifteen for the latter.

Other castes. Among the other foreign castes may be mentioned *Panditattans* and *Kallans*, workers in gold and granite respectively, who are allied castes wearing the sacred thread and for whom Brahmans sometimes officiate as priests; *Pandurans*, who are mostly employed in making *pappadam* (the favourite crisp cake of the Malayalis); *Ambattans* and *Vannans*, Tamil barbers and washermen; *Chakkiliyans* or leather-workers; *Kusarans*, the makers of pottery and tiles; *Odda Naikkans*, Telugu tank-diggers and earth-workers, who are said to have been first got down for the construction of the Travancore Lines; and *Kakkalans* or *Kuravans*, a gipsy tribe, whose males are tailors, mat-makers, jugglers and snake-charmers, and females professional beggars and palmists. Among these, the males of Pandarans and Kakkalans and some of the Ambattans have adopted the dress and fore-tuft of the Malayalis, but the females still retain their foreign dress.

DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE. Besides the peculiar system of marriage and inheritance already adverted to, Malabar society presents certain features which differ from those of Hindu society elsewhere. The Malabar Hindus have most of their ceremonies and observances in common with the other Hindus, but owing to its isolation for centuries from the bulk of the Hindu population, society here has developed some features which are peculiar to it, and some account of which is essential for a proper understanding of

the people. For a fuller account of these features the reader is referred to Mr. L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer's "*Cochin Tribes and Castes*", where they are dealt with in a considerable detail. *

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LIFE.

Dwellings.

The typical Malayali house is the *nalukettu*, a quadrangular building consisting of four blocks, with a square or oblong court-yard in the centre, known as the *nadumittam*. The western block, or *padinjattini*, is divided into three rooms, the middle one of which is the store-room, where the valuables and the household deities, if any, are kept, and the other two are bed-rooms. The northern block, or *vadakkini*, is divided into two rooms, the kitchen and the dining room. The whole or the middle portions of the eastern and southern blocks (*kizhakkini* and *tekkini*) are open halls, where visitors and guests are received and entertained. There are verandahs all round the building and also round the inner court-yard, and in some cases there is attached to the building a *pumukham*, or open portico, in which male visitors are received and through which entrance is gained to the *kizhakkini*. By the side of the kitchen is the well, from which water is drawn to it through a window. The building is surrounded on all sides by a court-yard, which is swept clean every day. In the centre of the eastern yard is the *tulasittara*, a kind of altar or platform on which a *tulasi*, or sacred basil, plant is reared. Surrounding the yard is the compound in which fruit trees like jack and mango, and plantains and other vegetables are grown, and which is bounded by masonry walls, or by mud walls with fencing. The entrance to the compound is gained through a *padippura*, or gate-house, the floor of which consists of two raised platforms, one on each side of the entrance. The above is the type of the Malayali dwelling, but the details of course vary according to the circumstances of the inmates. The dwelling of a wealthy family may consist of two or more *nalukettus*, and one or more blocks may be two-storeyed. The poorer houses consist of the western block alone with or without verandahs and portico. The better classes of houses are built of laterite plastered with chunnam, and the roofs are tiled or thatched with plaited cocoanut leaves or the leaves of the palmyra. Except Brahman houses and temples, no house could in the olden days be tiled without the

* The distinct features of Malabar society are supposed to be embodied in what are known as the 64 *anacharams*, or peculiar customs, believed to have been introduced by Sankaracharya. Many of these are however of no importance, while some important features characteristic of Malabar society find no place in them. A list of the *anacharams* with explanatory notes is given in the Cochin Census Report for 1901, Part I, pp. 178-80.

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sanction of the Raja, but this restriction was removed during the administration of Diwan Sankara Variyar. The poorer houses are built of mud, white-washed or coloured red, and the roof thatched with plaited leaves or straw ; but in the sandy tracts wooden planks or bamboo mats take the place of mud walls. There has in recent years been a distinct improvement in the design of houses. The rooms are now made airier and better ventilated than formerly, the ceiling higher, and the doors and windows larger in size but less massive in structure.

House sites. The choice of the house site has to be made in accordance with *Sastraic* principles. The compound, which should be quadrangular, is divided into four blocks by imaginary lines running north and south and east and west and meeting in the centre. The house should be built in the north-eastern or south-western block, preferably the former. The cow shed and the burial-ground should be in the south-east, and the tank and the serpent shrine in the north-west, quarter. Similar *Sastraic* principles have to be followed also in every detail of house construction. Misfortunes and accidents in a family are often attributed to the non-observance of these principles, and newly built houses are sometimes pulled down or alterations made in them to remedy such defects. But in the towns which are becoming more and more crowded in these days, these restrictions have of necessity begun to be more or less disregarded, but they are still scrupulously observed in the rural parts. Several of the native Christians and Muhammadans also follow these principles in choosing house sites and making ground plans.

House names. Every *taravad* has a distinct name, and the *taravad* house also is known by that name. Besides this, the houses occupied by the various castes have in most cases distinct generic names. The house of a Namburi is called *mana* or *illam*, of an Elayad or Muttad, *illam*, of a Raja, *korilakam*, of a Tirumulpad or Pattar Brahman, *madham*, of a Nambidi chief, *malapad*, of a Nambiyassan or Unni, *pushpakam*, of a Pisharodi, *pisharam*, of a Variyar, *variyan*, of a Puduval, *bhavanam*, of a Nayar, *vidu*, of an Odda Naikkan, *kutaram*, of the higher polluting castes, *ala*, *kudi* or *pura*, and of the lower polluting castes, *chala*.

Ordinary
dress.

The Malayali is not burdened with a superfluity of clothing. The ordinary dress of the males consists of a *konam*, a *mundu*, and a *tuvarttumundu*. The first is a narrow strip of cloth which is passed through the legs and attached to a string tied round the waist. The second is a piece of cloth, a yard to a yard and a

half broad and two to two and a half yards long, which is passed round the waist and tucked in on the right side. It hangs loose up to the knee in the case of the poorer classes and up to the ankle in the case of others. The last is an upper cloth thrown over the shoulders whenever a man goes out, but seldom when at home. This piece is also used for wiping the body clean after bathing. The women wear an *onnaramundu*, a large piece of cloth wound tightly round the loins and then round the legs separately and tucked in at the back and on the right side. Over this a *mundu* is worn round the waist somewhat like that worn by the men, and when going out, a smaller piece is thrown over the breasts. All the clothing should be white, but it may have coloured or laced borders. Silk and coloured cloths are not worn by either sex. The wearing of the short-sleeved half jacket of the east coast as an out-door dress is now becoming the fashion among women, and the European shirt worn with the ends hanging loose over the *mundu* among men.

When conducting service in temples and performing any of their numerous ceremonies, the Namburis wear a dress which is unlike the one described above. The piece is much longer than a *mundu*, and is worn in the fashion called *tattu*, a portion of the cloth passing between the thighs and tucked in at the front and behind, with the front portion arranged in a number of duplications. Similar to this is the ordinary and ceremonial dress of the Namburi women, but the duplications go all round the waist. When going out, Namburi women cover the body with a long and broad piece of white cloth reaching from the neck to the knee. They also carry a large concave palm-leaf umbrella, with which they screen themselves from men's eyes. The Nayars and the intermediate castes, both men and women, copy the dress of the Namburis when they perform some of their ceremonies, such as the *Sradha*, the *Tali* marriage, etc.

Ceremonial
dress.

The most characteristic ornament of the Malayali women is the ear-ring called *toda*, a stud-shaped hollow circle of gold, about an inch and a half in diameter. The hole of the ear has to be painfully distended in childhood to contain the ring. The tendency in recent years has been to reduce the diameter of the ring, and quite recently the Tamil ornament *kammal* has begun to take its place. The ear-ring of Namburi women is a hollow cylinder of gold hanging from the distended lobe. Gold necklaces of various patterns are worn, the pattern of children's necklaces differing from those of grown up women's, and those of

Ornaments.

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Namburi women differing from those worn by Ambalavasi and Nayar women. Nose pendants, bracelets and finger-rings are also generally worn, but the first is worn only by Nayar women, and the bracelets worn by Namburi ladies are not made of gold or silver but of bronze. The men's ornaments are ear-rings and finger-rings, and more rarely, gold or silver chains tied round the waist.

Games and
amusements.

The chief out-door games are *pandukali*, *attakalam* and *kayyamkali*. The first is a kind of foot-ball in which one side tries to kick the ball against a post guarded by the other side. This is now giving place to English foot-ball. The second is a trial of strength between two parties consisting of fifteen to twenty men each, one side trying to oust the other from a ring, in which the latter take their stand. The third is a kind of boxing match, but the hitting is done only with open palms and not with fists. These games, which are generally played only during the *Onam* season, are fast going out of fashion. Young women and girls play foot-ball, but they enjoy swinging even better. Their greatest amusement however is the *kaikottikali*, a circular dance to the accompaniment of singing, in which ten to thirty girls take part at a time. The chief in-door games are chess and dice. Among the most popular amusements are the *kathakali*, a dramatic performance in dumb-show to the accompaniment of music, the meaning of the performers being conveyed by a variety of recognised gestures perfectly intelligible to the initiated; *ottamtullal*, which consists of the recitation of a narrative poem in a particular metre, with appropriate gestures and to the accompaniment of music; and the *kuttu*, or the recitation of passages from the *Puranas* with commentaries by the Chakkiyar, which has already been referred to. These amusements, especially *kathakali*, have of late been losing their hold on the public; the place of *kathakali* is being taken by the *natakam*, which is like the Sanskrit drama.

Festivals.

Onam is the most important of the national festivals of the Malayalis. It is held in the month of Chingam (August-September), the time of the chief harvest, to celebrate the periodical visits of Mahabali. The festival lasts for five days, and is an occasion for general feasting and rejoicing. The inner or front court-yard of every house is carpeted with flowers, and a pyramidal image of clay or wood is set up in the middle of it, and *puja* done to it. Sumptuous feasts in the morning and evening are the order of the day, and the intervals are devoted to games and amusements of all kinds. Heads of well-to-do families distribute

presents of cloth to the junior members, servants and tenants, and the tenants on their part present nuzzars in the shape of vegetables, especially bunches of banana. Even the poorest among the Malayalis take part in the rejoicings, and by scraping and scheming they manage to lay by sufficient funds for feasts on this occasion. The next most important festival is the *Vishu*, the new year's day of Malabar. It is believed that what one sees first on the morning of the day will influence one's fortunes for the year, and arrangements are therefore made for what is known as the *Kani* on the previous night in every house so that the inmates may look upon it the first thing in the morning. The *Kani* consists of a pretty arrangement, in a bell-metal bowl half filled with raw rice, of gold ornaments and coins, a *grantham*, a newly washed cloth tightly folded, a bell-metal looking glass, a cucumber, a cocoanut cut in two, a jack fruit and some mangoes, and over these are spread flowers of *konna* tree (*Cussia fistula*). After the *Kani* seeing is over, the members of the family exchange coins, and the *karanavan* gives small presents of money to his juniors and servants. The third important festival is the *Tiruvattira* in the month of Dhanu (December-January): it is held in honour of the God of Love, and is chiefly observed by women. Girls and young women bathe an hour or two before day-break, and, when bathing, they splash the water to the accompaniment of certain songs. After worshipping in the nearest temple they partake of light refreshments, and spend the rest of the day in swinging (*uzhinjal attam*) and dancing (*kaikottikal*). On this occasion the women do not take the ordinary rice meal, but only wheat, *chama* (*Panicum miliaceum*), etc. Husbands should not, and as a rule do not, fail to visit their wives on the Tiruvattira day. *Navaratri* (*Dasara*) and *Sivaratri* are festivals of a more religious nature than those mentioned above. The former consists of the worship of the implements of one's craft (*Ayudha puja*) and of the Goddess of Learning (*Saraswati puja*). People set apart all books and educational and other apparatus for worship for three days and refrain from reading, writing and all kinds of work. *Sivaratri* is observed here as in other parts of India. Besides the above national festivals, there are several local festivals which attract large numbers of spectators. The most important of these are the *Purams* in Trichur and Arattupuzha, the *Utsavams* in Tripunithura, Ernakulam, Tiruvanchikulam and Irinjalakuda, the *Ekalesi* in Tiruvilvamala and the *Kongapada* in Chittur. Short accounts

CHAP. III. of these festivals will be found in the description of the places
DOMESTIC concerned in the Gazetteer.
AND SOCIAL LIFE.

Enangu. *Enangu* is the association of a number of families belonging to the same sub-caste in a village, formed for the purpose of rendering mutual assistance and dealing with social disputes and minor caste offences. On the occasion of a death, marriage or other occurrence in a family, the members of the other associated families look after all the details of the necessary arrangements and also undertake the catering for the feasts; and the *enangans*, as the members of the associated families are called, act as bridegrooms when *tali* marriages are performed. The elders of the families on such occasions settle all social disputes and dispose of minor caste offences. The punishment generally awarded for such offences is suspension from the *enangu* pending their expiation by the payment of a fine or other penalty. The fines thus realised are paid into the funds of the village temple. Serious caste offences require the intervention of the *Vaidikans*, and the Raja is the final authority in pronouncing judgment. The *enangu* system does not exist in some of the villages, especially in the south, and also among communities following the *makkathayam* law. Respect for the authority of the elders, which is essential for the maintenance of the system, is very much on the decline in the altered political and social conditions of these days, and the institution is therefore fast undergoing disintegration.

Social etiquette.

There are some points of etiquette peculiar to Malabar. In the presence of a man's elders in the family and superiors in social position, he should remove his upper cloth and remain bare to the waist. Formerly, it is said, women also had to do the same, but that practice has long ceased to exist. When speaking to or of a Namburi or a Raja, Ambalavasis and Nayars and the inferior castes have to use terms of respect which are as numerous as they are unique. Everything connected with a Namburi's or Raja's person has to be referred to as *blessed*, his head, his eyes, his nose, his face, his arms, his legs, his feet. Most of his actions and belongings, such as his sleep, bed-chamber, bed, boat, carriage, palanquin, study, hunt, sword, etc., are *worshipful*. His food is *ambrosia*, his walk is a *procession*, and so on. In contrast to them a Nayar has to use terms of deprecation when speaking of himself to a Namburi or Raja. He has to refer to himself as a *slave*, his house as a *dirty hut*, his food as *black gruel*, his mother as an *ancient dame*, his son as a *slave boy*, his sleep as *reclining on the floor*,

his work as *defect of hand*, his death as *desertion from duty*, etc. Similar terms of respect and deprecation have to be used by the polluting castes when addressing the Nayars and the higher castes. The Namburis speak of and address each other not by their proper names but only by the names of their *illams* (houses). In the case of the *Adhyans*, however, the title of Namburi is added to the name of the house.

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DOMESTIC
AND SOCIAL
LIFE.

The Malayalis like other Hindus have to perform a large number of ceremonies. Not only is every important incident connected with man's life an occasion for ceremonies, but there are also several pre-natal and posthumous ceremonies as well. The Namburis like other Brahmans should perform sixteen ceremonies which are known collectively as *Shodasakriya*,* but the details of their ritual differ in several respects from those of other Brahmans. These ceremonies are performed also by Kshatriyas and others who have the privilege of wearing the holy thread. Ambalavasis and Nayars perform most of these ceremonies, but without *mantras* and that elaboration in the ritual which is characteristic of Brahmanical ceremonies. They have not also of course those ceremonies which may be called Brahmanising—*Upanayanam* and *Samavartanam*. The ceremonies of the lower castes are fewer and much less elaborate than those of the Nayars; it is however the standard of the latter that they aim at imitating. In the case of the lowest castes, the ceremonies are still fewer in number and simpler in nature. A detailed description of the ceremonies of the various castes cannot be attempted here, as the space required for it will not be in keeping with the plan of this volume; and further, they are described in sufficient detail in Mr. Ananta-krishna Iyer's *Cochin Tribes and Castes*.

* The more important of these sixteen ceremonies are *garbhastanam*, or the ceremony performed on the consummation of marriage; *pumsavaram*, or the rite performed by the husband in the third month of the wife's pregnancy to secure male offspring; *simantam*, the ceremony performed in the fourth month to ensure happiness and long life to the child; *jatakarmam*, the first ceremony performed on the birth of a child; *namakaranam*, the ceremony of naming the child, which takes place on the twelfth day; *nishkramanam*, the taking out of the child ceremonially by the father in the fourth month; *annaprasavam*, feeding the child with rice for the first time, which is in the sixth month; *karnavedham*, boring the ear, which is generally done in the third year; *chaulam*, or tonsure in the fifth; *vidyarambham*, or initiation into the alphabet in the same year; *upanayanam*, or investiture with the holy thread in the boy's eighth year, after which he has to live the life of a celebrate student of the Vedas, till his *samavartanam*, which is usually performed in the sixteenth year and which marks the completion of his studies; *vivaham* or marriage, which is performed before or after the bride attains her puberty.

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AND SOCIAL
LIFE

—
Agricultural
ceremonies.

Besides these religious ceremonies, there are certain agricultural ceremonies peculiar to Malabar life, the chief of which are the *Illam-nira*, *Puttari* and *Ucchural*. The first, which means, literally, filling the house, is a ceremony performed generally in the month of August; it has a prosperous harvest for its object. The house is thoroughly cleaned, and the floor and door-way decorated with rice flour mixed with water. The leaves and branches of eight specified local trees and ten kinds of flowers (*dasa pushpam*) are collected in the gate house, and on the morning of the ceremony the house-holder deputes a man, duly purified by a bath, to the fields to gather some ears of paddy. The man brings the ears to the gate, where he is met by a woman with a lighted lamp placed on the leaves and flowers above mentioned, and the whole thing is taken in procession to the house, those assembled crying "fill, fill the house, fill, fill the (paddy) basket, and fill the stomach of the children". On reaching the main room of the house, the leaves and flowers with the corn are placed on a plantain leaf with the lamp on the right, and an offering of cocoanuts and sweets made to Ganapati, after which the ears of paddy and the leaves are stuck with cow dung to various parts of the house and to agricultural implements. This is followed by a sumptuous breakfast, when partaking which a lighted lamp is placed in front of the head of the family. *Puttari* (literally, new rice) is the ceremony of cooking and eating the new rice soon after the harvest of the first crop and before the *Onam* festival. On the auspicious day chosen for it a sweet pudding is made of new rice, cocoanut milk and black sugar, and it is eaten with a special curry made of *puttari chundanga* (the fruit of *Sicertia chirayta*), the leaves of *takara* (*Cassia tora*), peas, brinjals and green pumpkin. After the harvest of the second crop in Makaram (January-February) when the year's agriculture is over, a festival lasting for three days is held in honour of the menstruation of Mother Earth, which is supposed to take place at this time, and after which she takes rest till the rains again set in. During these three days which are holidays for all, all granaries are closed, agricultural implements remain untouched, and no paddy is sold. This festival, called *Ucchural*, which once used to be an important one, has now become almost obsolete, at least in Cochin. Formerly, agricultural leases could expire only with the *Ucchural*, and at no other time could demands for the surrender of lands be made.

The origin of Christianity in Malabar is involved in obscurity. Local tradition ascribes it to the Apostle St. Thomas, who is believed to have landed at Cranganur in 52 A. D., converted several Brahmins and others, and founded seven churches on this coast. He subsequently went to Mailapur and thence to China, and was on his return put to death at St. Thomas Mount in 67 A. D. and buried at Mailapur. The belief in this tradition is implicit and universal among the Christians of Malabar, but most modern historians are inclined to reject the evidence on which the tradition rests. It must however be admitted, in view of the extensive trade relations that existed between Malabar and the Mediterranean countries before the Christian era, that there is nothing inherently improbable in the tradition which ascribes an apostolic origin to the Malabar church. But, on the other hand, there is no direct evidence to support it. No doubt, the earliest accounts of the apostolic labours of St. Thomas make him the Evangelist of India among other countries, but the India of those writers is evidently the India of Alexander the Great and the India Minor of medieval geographers, which comprises only the present North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab. The *Acta Thomæ*, for instance, which was written in the third century, connects his mission with King Gondophares, whom numismatic researches have proved to have been an Indo-Parthian King whose capital was the present Kabul. The other writers of the third and fourth centuries also couple Parthia and Persia with India as the scenes of the apostle's labours, the natural inference from which is that the India referred to is the north-western India bordering on those countries and not the peninsular India. Two of these writers, Dorotheas, Bishop of Tyre, and St. Jerome, make "Calamina, a town in India", the scene of the apostle's martyrdom. This town is identified with Calama, mentioned by Nearchus, on the coast of Gedrosia, which was under the rule of Gondophares; though this identification is disputed, it cannot be identified with any town in Southern India with an equal show of reason. Thus, the question of apostolic origin cannot at present be decided one way or the other: until more direct and conclusive evidence is forthcoming, the verdict must be one of 'not proven'.

When and by whom Christianity was first introduced into Malabar (if it was not by St. Thomas) are questions which still await solution. The first direct and indisputable testimony to the existence of Christianity here is that afforded in 522 A. D. by Cosmos Indicopleustes, who states that there were churches in Ceylon "and in Male where the pepper grows; and at Kalliana

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——
Beginning of
Christianity
in Malabar.

Probable
date of its in-
troduction.

CHAP. III. there is a bishop usually ordained in Persia".* From the
THE
CHRISTIANS. existence of a well organised church at the time of Cosmos' visit,
it may be inferred that Christianity made its way into Malabar
not later than the fifth century, and as Roman merchant fleets
from Myos Hormuz on the Red Sea regularly visited Malabar
in the second century, it is highly probable that the tenets of
Christianity became known to, and gradually accepted by, the
people here about this time.

Early Mala-
bar church
Nestorian.

Whatever the true origin of the Malabar church might be, it was, when it emerges into history, a Nestorian branch of the Asiatic church, and was presided over by bishops usually ordained in Persia. It is well known that, when Nestorianism was condemned by the Council of Ephesus in 431 and was stamped out of Europe in consequence of stringent imperial edicts, it betook itself to Persia and other eastern countries, where it flourished. It is probable that the Malabar church was converted into the Nestorian faith by missionaries sent by the Patriarch of Babylon in the fifth and sixth centuries. Though the Jacobite sect, the followers of Jacobus Zanzalas, dwelt in the midst of Nestorians in Asia, it does not seem to have influenced the Malabar church till several centuries later.

Thomas
Cana and the
Malabar
church.

In the eighth century an Armenian merchant, Thomas Cana, is said to have come upon this church as he traded from the Persian Gulf down this coast. He appears to have greatly increased the numerical and material strength of the community both by colonisation and by conversion. He is said to have brought to Cranganur a colony of four hundred Christians from Bagdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem, among whom were a bishop Joseph and several priests. It is also said that Thomas Cana married two native wives of different castes, and that the descendants of their offspring are respectively represented by the Northerners (*Vadakkumbhayakar*) and the Southerners (*Tekkumbhayakar*) of the present day.[†] Another theory regarding the division into two sections is that the Southerners were the new immigrants who were brought in by Thomas Cana and who settled in the south street in Cranganur, while the Northerners were the old indigenous Christians who had the north street for their domicile. Whatever their origin, the social

* *Male* is undoubtedly Malabar, and *Kallaina* is identified by some with Quilon and by others with Kalyani near Bombay.

† The Northerners were further subdivided into "Mahodayapattanamites" and "Kurikenikollumites". This was only a local distinction and not a social division, as they freely inter-marry. This distinction used invariably to be cited in all documents executed by or to Syrian Christians till the introduction of the registration of deeds.

cleavage between the two sections is still kept up, as custom does not permit inter-marriage between them.

That the Christian community attained a position of some importance at an early period is clear from the privileges specified in the copper-plate grants given to them by kings Vira Raghava Chakravarti and Sthanu Ravi Gupta. These grants are still preserved at Kottayam. The first of these is said to have been obtained through the influence of Thoma Cana, but there is nothing in the grant itself to connect it with him. The dates generally assigned to these grants are 774 and 824 A. D. respectively, but more recent researches have assigned the grants, on both palaeographical and astronomical grounds, to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The privileges conferred by the grants were among those that were then enjoyed by subordinate local chiefs, and Vira Raghava's grant also makes the donee the sovereign merchant of Kerala.* It is evident from this that centuries before the advent of the Portuguese the Christians here attained a position of importance socially, politically and commercially.

If the information regarding the Malabar church in the early centuries is meagre, its history during the middle ages till the arrival of the Portuguese is almost blank. The Christians during this period seem to have obtained bishops indiscriminately from one of the eastern Patriarchs, who were either Nestorian or Jacobite, and to have at times managed without any bishops. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo, who visited this coast, refers to the prevalence of Nestorianism among the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar, and also speaks of the legend of the death of St. Thomas in India. In the next century three Latin missionaries, Friar Jordanus among others, visited Malabar and made some converts; but the church practically remained Nestorian down to the end of sixteenth century.

By a strange coincidence the Portuguese landed in that part of India where Christianity had already been thoroughly established. At first they welcomed the Syrians as brother Christians and made no attempt to interfere with their doctrines, while the Syrians in their turn were gratified at the advent of their co-religionists from Europe. But when the Portuguese power was once established on the West Coast and the Inquisition was set up at Goa, they began to direct their proselytising energy against the Syrians. They took stringent measures to cut off the Syrian Christians from communion with the eastern

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—
Copper-plate
grants to
Christians.

The Malabar
church in the
middle ages.

Advent of the
Portuguese.

* See p. 10, *ante*.

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Patriarchs: they intercepted their correspondence with the latter and confined several of their bishops in the prisons of their Holy Office. Franciscan and Dominican Friars and Jesuit missionaries came out in large numbers and worked zealously to win the Malabar church over to Rome. These attempts were strongly resisted by the Syrian Christians but without success: their subjugation was gradually effected with the help of the spiritual and temporal power at the command of the Portuguese, and was finally consummated by the synod of Diamper.

Synod of
Diamper.

The various causes of quarrel between the Jesuits and the native clergy culminated in open rupture towards the end of the sixteenth century, and this cleavage was proclaimed by the then head of the Malabar church, Archdeacon George, at a synod held at Angamali. When Alexes de Menezes, the bold and energetic Archbishop of Goa, heard of this, he himself undertook a visitation of the Syrian churches, and overawed the Syrians into subjection. A synod was held by him at Diamper (or Udayamperur) in 1599, at which a number of acts and decrees were passed for bringing the Malabar Christians within the Roman fold. The sacred books of the latter, their missals, their consecrated oil and church ornaments were publicly burned; and their religious nationality as a separate caste was abolished. By these extreme measures and backed by the terrors of the Inquisition, Menezes succeeded in inducing practically the whole community to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome and to subscribe to the Latin doctrines and ritual. They were incorporated with the converts of the Jesuits in one community under the government of the Archbishop of Goa.

Revolt of the
Syrians.

This victory of Archbishop Menezes was however short lived. When his firm hand was withdrawn, his parchment conversions began to loose their force. The rule of his successors proved so distasteful to the Syrians that they resolved to have a bishop of their own, and applied to the Patriarchs of Antioch and Babylon for one. The former Patriarch readily sent a bishop named Ahatalla, but the Portuguese intercepted him and sent him to Goa, where he was done away with. This so enraged the Syrians that large numbers of them met in solemn conclave at the *Coonen Cross* in Mattancheri and, with one voice, renounced their allegiance to Rome. Only a few hundred Syrians adhered to the Portuguese Archbishop.

The old and
the new
church.

The swearing at the *Coonen Cross* is an important incident in the history of the Malabar church, as from it dates the division of the church into the Romo-Syrian and the Jacobite

Syrian. The former, since called the *pazhayakuru*, or the old sect, adhered to the acts and decrees of the synod of Diamper, while the latter, the *puttunkuru*, or the new sect, seceded permanently from Rome, obtained a bishop from Antioch, and have ever since followed the Jacobite ritual. Mar Gregory, the bishop sent by the Patriarch of Antioch in 1665 to the orphaned Syrian church, belonged to the Jacobite instead of the Nestorian branch of the Asiatic church. Since his arrival, the Syrians accepted the tenets of Jacobinism, so that Nestorianism may be said to have received its death blow from the synod of Diamper.

On hearing of the defection at the Coonen Cross, the Pope despatched a Carmelite mission in 1656 to restore order. The vigorous measures of its head, Joseph of St. Mary, brought back a section of the old Christian communities; and when Joseph reported his success at Rome, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Malabar without the knowledge of the King of Portugal and sent back to India in 1659. But the Bishop found the Protestant Dutch pressing the Portuguese hard on the Malabar coast, and when the Dutch captured Cochin in 1663, Bishop Joseph was ordered to leave the coast forthwith. After a short period of antagonism however, the Dutch relapsed into indifference, and allowed free scope to the Roman missionaries. For about two centuries after this, the Carmelite Vicars Apostolic continued practically to govern the Romo-Syrians as well as the Roman Catholics. The King of Portugal had the right conferred on him by successive Popes of appointing bishops in the East Indies, but in the appointment of the Carmelite bishops the Pope ignored this right. The king however continued to appoint archbishops of Cranganur and bishops of Cochin, but as the Dutch were then in power, these dignitaries were not able to exercise any authority in their sees. When the Dutch were supplanted by the English, the Portuguese archbishops of Cranganur began to assert themselves, when the Pope by the Bull of 1838 abolished the sees of Cranganur and Cochin and placed them under the jurisdiction of the Carmelite Archbishop of Verapoly. The King of Portugal questioned the right of the Pope to take this step, and the disputes to which this led were finally settled by the Concordat of 1886, by which the jurisdiction of the rival bishops was defined. The Roman Catholics in the coast districts were placed under the Bishop of Cochin, a suffragan of the Archbishop of Goa, while the Roman Catholics in the interior and the Romo-Syrians were placed under the Archbishop of Verapoly.

CHAP. III.
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CHRISTIANS.

Carmelite
mission.

CHAP. III. The Romo-Syrians were never content with having a Latin
 THE bishop as their ecclesiastical head, and ever since the revolt of
 CHRISTIANS. the Coonen Cross they had longed for a bishop of their own
 Separation of nationality, and made repeated requests for the same. Com-
 Romo-Syrian pliance with these requests was for some reason or other
 and Latin deferred from time to time, but in 1868 a Co-adjutor to the
 churches. Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly was appointed to have the immedi-
 ate charge of the Romo-Syrians, the Roman Catholics being
 under the direct charge of the Vicar Apostolic himself. On the
 death of the Co-adjutor in 1892 the two communities were
 entirely separated for purposes of church government, and the
 Romo-Syrians were placed under two separate European Vicars
 Apostolic (Trichur and Kottayam), but the latter were in 1896
 replaced by three native Syrian priests, who were consecrated
 Vicars Apostolic of Trichur, Ernakulam and Tankasserri. The
 Romo-Syrians use the liturgy of the Church of Rome just like
 the Roman Catholics, the only difference being that, while the
 latter use the Latin, the former use the Syriac language.

Roman
Catholics.

The Roman Catholics consist for the most part of Mala-
 yalis of various castes who were converted to Catholicism
 during the Portuguese supremacy. As they were baptised by
 Latin priests, they followed, as they do to this day, the Latin
 rite. The Christians known as *Munnattikars*, *Anjattikars* and
Echunnattikars (the Three Hundreds, Five Hundreds and Seven
 Hundreds) belong to this community, but they do not them-
 selves admit that they were recent converts. There is con-
 siderable dispute among the three sections in regard to social
 precedence: each, while it claims to have descended from the
 early St. Thomas Christians, denies the same claims to the
 others. It is however not necessary to enter into the merits of
 the controversy here, but one point is worthy of note, *viz.*, that
 the undisputed Syrians do not by their tradition or by their
 practice support the claims of either of these parties. The
 great majority of the Roman Catholics of Cochin are under the
 sway of the Archbishop of Verapoly, while the rest are under
 the Bishops of Cochin and Coimbatore. Those belonging to the
 Coimbatore see are recent Tamil converts, who are found
 only in the Taluk of Chittur.

Jacobite
Syrians.

The history of the Jacobite Syrians, since they seceded
 from the Romo-Syrians, was comparatively uneventful until the
 Church Missionary Society entered into friendly relations with
 them in the beginning of the nineteenth century. They con-
 tinued throughout to acknowledge the Patriarch of Antioch

and were under the immediate rule of *Metrans* or bishops chosen from among their own community. When the English missionaries began their work on this coast in 1817, the most cordial relations existed between them and the Syrians, but when the former established a college for the instruction of Syrian priests, the more conservative among the Syrians began to fear that the independence of their church was in danger. They therefore appealed to the Patriarch for a new bishop to replace the then Metropolitan Mar Dionysius, who was suspected of having leanings towards Protestantism. The Patriarch accordingly sent Mar Athanasius as *Metran*, when a large number of Syrians flocked to him. The dispute which then occurred between the followers of the two *Metrans* and in which the missionaries took the part of Mar Dionysius was settled finally in 1840 by the withdrawal of the missionaries from all connection with the Syrian church. But the influence of their teaching remained behind : several Syrians joined the Church of England, while many others who were not prepared to go such lengths formed themselves into a party of reformers, and succeeded in getting a new bishop Mathew Athanasius consecrated by the Patriarch. Mar Dionysius refusing to give way, the two parties came into conflict which was protracted for several years, when the Patriarch of Antioch himself visited Cochin and Travancore in 1874 and presided over a synod at Mulanturutti. At this numerously attended meeting Mar Dionysius V was recognised as the proper Metropolitan of Malankara, and Mar Athanasius was condemned as a schismatic. This did not however mend matters, as the dispute was taken to the law courts of Travancore and Cochin by the parties. The protracted litigation which thus ensued was ultimately decided in favour of Mar Dionysius by the Travancore High Court in 1889 and the Cochin Chief Court in 1905.

The main point at issue in the above litigation was whether consecration by the Patriarch of Antioch was essential to constitute a valid title to a bishopric over the Syrian Christians. The decision having been in the affirmative, the Athanasian party formed a church of their own with Mar Athanasius as its supreme head. They hold that, as the Syrian church is as ancient and apostolic as any other, being founded by the Apostle St. Thomas, the Metropolitan of Malabar is its supreme head and as such does not need to be consecrated by any other dignitary. These seceders are called Reformed Syrians, or St. Thomas Syrians ; they themselves prefer the latter title.

Reformed
Syrians.

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THE
CHRISTIANS.

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THE
CHRISTIANS.
—
Chaldean
Syrians.

Besides the divisions of Christians mentioned above, there is a small community in Trichur and its neighbourhood which is now known as Chaldean Syrians. This sect arose out of the split created amongst the Romo-Syrians of Trichur by the arrival of Bishop Mellus in 1874. He was sent to Cochin by the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, who thought that he had independent jurisdiction over the Chaldean Syrian church of Malabar. But this action was condemned, and the bishop's title to the headship of the Trichur church repudiated, by the Pope, whereupon several of the parishioners refused to acknowledge him as bishop. The majority of the community however continued to follow his lead. They contended that their church, ever since its foundation in 1810, was under the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon without having ever been in communion with Rome, while the seceders held that since the synod of Diamper they had always been in communion with Rome. This involved the two factions in a costly and protracted litigation, each claiming the right to the possession of the church and its properties, but the suit was eventually decided in favour of the Mellusan party. Long before this, however, Bishop Mellus made his peace with Rome and left Cochin, when his adherents chose as their bishop a native priest, Anthony Kattanar, otherwise known as Mar Abdeso, who is said to have visited Syria and Palestine and received ordination from the anti-Roman Patriarch of Babylon. This party has since begun to call themselves Chaldean Syrians, but the Romo-Syrians are equally entitled to this appellation. At present they are under the sway of a Metropolitan ordained by the Patriarch of Babylon who does not acknowledge the supremacy of Rome.

Protestants.

The Protestant missions began work in Cochin but recently, and have not made much progress, the native Protestants of all denominations numbering less than 2,000, and even of these, many are sojourners from outside, especially Travancore. The Church Missionary Society began work first in Trichur in 1842 and in Kunnankulam in 1854, the Church of England Zenana Mission in Trichur in 1881 and the Leipzig Lutheran Mission in Chittur in 1882. Of all the missions in Cochin, the Church Mission is the oldest and most important. Each mission station is constituted into a district under the supervision of an European Missionary, and each district has its out-stations, Trichur having eleven and Kunnankulam nine. At first the missionary was in charge of both pastoral and evangelistic work, but when the congregation began to increase in numbers, a native pastor was appointed to each district, and the Native Church was separated from the Mission district, the former being made over to the

Bishop of Travancore and Cochin and the latter remaining under the missionary. The Mission maintains a number of vernacular, Anglo-vernacular and industrial schools, which are doing good work in the State.

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The affairs of every Syrian church are managed by two or more *kaikars*, or wardens, periodically elected from among the parishioners. They are the trustees of the church property, and, with the priest, exercise considerable powers in religious and social matters in the parish. Their bishops are called *Metrans*, and their priests *Kattanars*: they live on the income from church property and contributions from the parishioners. The Jacobite bishops are generally nominated by their predecessors, and the priestly office is often hereditary, descending by the *marumakkattayam* system. The Latin Christians and the Romo-Syrians use the liturgy of the Church of Rome, the former using the Latin and the latter the Syriac language. The Chaldean Syrians also use the Roman liturgy with some points of difference in practice, such as the use of two kinds of consecrated oil in baptism, blessing the congregation in the middle of the mass, etc. Both the Jacobite and Reformed Syrians use the Syriac liturgy of St. James, but a Malayalam translation of it has now been generally adopted by the latter. The Jacobites say masses for the dead, invoke the Virgin Mary, venerate the cross and the relics of saints, observe special fasts, prescribe auricular confession before mass, and at mass administer the bread dipped in wine. These are the chief points on which the Reformed or St. Thomas Christians differ from them, and this reformation was due almost entirely to the influence of Protestantism. The Syrian Christians observe the ordinary festivals of the church, the day of the patron saint of each church being celebrated with special pomp.

Church
government,
ritual, etc.

In their physical appearance and many of their general characteristics, the Syrian Christians are very like the Nayars, but in some respects they differ from them. They have no objection, like the Nayars, to live in streets: in fact, they generally prefer it to living in houses standing in their own premises. Detached Christian houses are built on the same plan as those of Nayars, but exigencies of space do not admit of the same design in the case of houses built in streets. The males dress like the Nayars, but they shave their heads clean without leaving a tuft or *kudumi* in the centre like the Nayars; nor do they wear ear-rings or bore their ears. They wear a small cross suspended from a string wound round the neck. The female

General characteristics.

CHAP. III. dress consists of a white jacket up to the waist, and a long piece
 THE of white cloth, with or without coloured borders, tied round the
 CHRISTIANS. waist with a number of fringes behind, but the end is not passed
 through the legs and tucked behind as in the case of Nayar
 women. They bore their ears in several places, and wear heavy
 ear-rings, and round their necks they wear necklaces of sorts
 and a *tali* consisting of 21 beads set in the form of a cross.
 Early marriage was the rule among the Syrians, but there has
 been considerable improvement in this respect in recent years.
 Even now, boys and girls are married before they are twenty
 and fourteen respectively. Trade and agriculture are the chief
 occupations of the community, but there is no branch of indus-
 try in the State in which they do not take a conspicuous part.

Survival
 of Hindu
 customs.

There are several survivals of Hindu customs among the Syrian Christians, but with the spread of English education and increasing contact with European Christians they are gradually dying out. Among these survivals may be mentioned caste prejudice which still lingers among them to some extent and prohibits among other things inter-marriage between certain sections, the observance of Onam and Vishu festivals, the belief in astrology, omens, witchcraft and charms, the performance of ceremonies similar to the *pumsavanam* and *annaprasanam* of the Hindus, the tying of the *tali* as a part of the marriage ceremony and its removal on the death of the husband to indicate widowhood, the observance of death pollution for ten or fifteen days, ending with ceremonies and feastings, and the performance of *sradha*, or anniversary ceremony, for the soul of the dead.

Syrian
 Christian
 nomencla-
 ture.

Though the Syrian Christians have been living in the midst of Hindus and freely associating with them on this coast for over fifteen centuries, it is remarkable that not one among them bears an Indian name. Biblical names are the only ones borne by them, though time has woefully distorted most of them, so much so that some of them almost defy identification. Xavier, for instance, now appears in the form of *Chouri* or *Cheru*, Jacob appears as *Chakko*, *Chakkappan* or *Iyyaku*, Job has become *Iyyu*, Peter, *Pattros*, *Pathu* or *Pathappan*, Paul, *Paily* or *Pailoth*, Zachariah, *Cheriyen*, Mathew, *Mathai* or *Mathan*, Ephraim, *Appuru*, George, *Verghese*, *Varied* or *Virki*, Titus, *Itti*, Alexander, *Chandy*, and so on. In this respect the Syrian Christians of Malabar stand alone: so far as I know, there is no other Christian community in the world that confines itself entirely to biblical names.

According to the Census of 1901, the Christians numbered 198,239, and thus formed about 24 per cent. of the population of the State. Ten per cent. of the Christian population of the Madras Presidency and seven per cent. of that of all India are represented by Cochin Christians. The bulk of the Christians are Roman Catholics—90,142 Romo-Syrians and 79,221 Latin Catholics—while the Jacobite Syrians number only 17,408. Chaldeans 8,884, and Reformed Syrians 514. Of the 2,070 Protestants, 1,939 belong to the Church of England, and of the total number of Christians, 55 are Europeans and 1,494 Eurasians.

The Muhammadans are not so numerous or influential in Cochin as in British Malabar, just as Christians are not so numerous and influential there as they are here. This is due to the fact that, while the Zamorin favoured the Muhammadans from very early times, his hereditary enemy the Raja of Cochin always extended his favour to the Christians. The Muhammadans in the State number only 54,492, or 6·7 per cent. of the total population. They are scattered throughout the State, and are not found in large numbers in any one place, except in Cranganur, where they form 24·7 per cent. of the population.

Like Christianity, Muhammadanism found its way to Malabar at an early period of its history, but its exact origin, like that of Christianity again, is involved in obscurity. The tradition that ascribes it to Cheraman Perumal must, as has already been shown, be treated as apocryphal. From very early times there had been considerable trade between Arabia and Malabar, and it is therefore probable that the religion of the Prophet was introduced by Arab traders. As, according to the Arab merchant Sulaiman, who wrote with knowledge in 851 A. D., there were no Muhammadans here in his time, Islam could have obtained a footing in Malabar only prior to the ninth century. The early Muhammadans appear to have been the offspring of the union between the Arab traders who would naturally come without their women, and the women of the lower classes of the Hindus, and as early Muhammadans were remarkable for their proselytising zeal, their ranks must have been swelled by conversions, chiefly from among low caste Hindus. Such conversions have continued to be made to the present day in British Malabar, but they are of very rare occurrence in Cochin. Before the advent of the Portuguese they were a very prosperous community, as they enjoyed the monopoly of foreign trade with the Malabar States, but the Portuguese

CHAP. III.
THE
CHRISTIANS.

Statistics
of Christian
sects.

THE MU-
HAMMADANS.

Origin of Mu-
hammadan-
ism in Mala-
bar.

CHAP. III. destroyed this monopoly and crippled their power. They however
 THE MU. still continued to enjoy the favour of the Zamorin, who depended
 HAMMADANS. on the Arab ships in all his schemes of aggrandisement. During
 — the Mysorean supremacy their ranks were considerably swelled
 by wholesale conversions, but since that period, Islam made
 no further progress in Cochin.

Muhammad-
 an races and
 sects.

Of the Muhammadan population of Cochin, 80 per cent. are *Mappilas*, * who are the descendants of the offspring of mixed unions or converts from the lower classes. These are the only Moslems indigenous to Cochin. The *Ravuttans* or *Labbais*, who are of similar origin, but belong to Tamil countries, form 15 per cent. of the community, and are found chiefly in the Chittur Taluk. The remaining 5 per cent. are pure Muhammadan immigrants from the north, and consist mainly of Pattans, with a slight sprinkling of Shaiks, Sayyids, Mughals, Hussains, Kacchi Memons and Boras. All the Muhammadans in the State are Sunnis, excepting the Boras, of whom however there are only seven. Malayalam is the parent tongue of the Mappilas, and Tamil that of the Labbais, while the rest speak Hindi or Hindustani.

Character-
 istics.

Like the native Christians but unlike the Hindus of this coast, the indigenous Muhammadans prefer to live in streets. Their dwellings are more or less like those of the native Christians, and present no special features of their own. The ordinary dress of the men is a white *mundu* with a purple border, or a *mundu* coloured orange or green, which, unlike that of the Hindus, is tied on the left. They also generally wear a small white skull cap. The women's dress consists of a coloured *mundu*, usually dark blue, a white loose embroidered jacket and a scarf on the head. They wear a number of ornaments—necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets and anklets. Besides distending the lobè of the ear, they bore about a dozen holes in its rims, and wear a ring in each. The men wear no ornaments except one or more *elussus*, or small cylinders made of silver or lead, which are attached to a string tied round the waist. Inside these cylinders are placed thin metal leaves inscribed with texts from the Koran or magic figures. As a rule, the men grow a beard, but shave their head clean. The Mappilas are generally a frugal and industrious people, and except a few here and there

* They are generally called *Jonaka Mappilas*, to distinguish them from the native Christians, who are locally known as *Nasrani* (Nazerene) Mappilas. *Mappila* appears to have been a title conferred on them (*ma* or *maha*: great, and *pilla*: child).

who are substantial farmers or landholders, they are as a class poor. Several among them are petty cultivators or traders, but the majority are boatmen, fishermen and labourers of every description. They are still very backward in point of education, and are hardly found in any of the literate walks of life, but they have none of that spirit of turbulence and fanaticism which has given an unenviable notoriety to their brethren in British Malabar. The prohibition of alcohol, which is enjoined by their religion, is very generally respected by them.

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THE MU-
HAMMADANS.

The Mappilas are very strict in the observance of the five important precepts of their religion, *viz.*, the recital of the creed, the duty of alms, the five daily prayers, the Ramzan fast, and the *haj* or pilgrimage to Mecca. They do not celebrate the Muharam, which is specially sacred only to the Shiahs, but they observe the ninth and tenth days of it. Their priest is known by the name of *Kazi*, who is the head of the *Jumat* or Friday mosque, and whose functions include the reading of the Friday sermon, the registration of marriages, and arbitration in civil and religious matters. In the minor mosques, a *Mulla*, who can read, but not necessarily understand, Arabic, leads the services. The chief religious leaders are the *Tangals*, who are regarded as descended from Muhamed or Ali, and are consequently looked upon with a high degree of veneration, but they are not as a class distinguished for their learning. The highest authority on religious subjects is the Mukhdum Tungal of Pon-nani, who is the head of the religious college there and confers the title of *Musaligar* on those who have qualified themselves to interpret the Koran and the commentaries. As among the native Christians, there are some survivals of Hindu beliefs and customs among the Mappilas, such as the worship of the saints and the belief in magic and witchcraft, both of which are condemned by the Koran.

Religion.

The Jews are in some respects the most interesting people to the foreigners visiting Cochin. That a colony of the Chosen People should have existed and prospered for nearly two thousand years in the midst of a people so alien from them in race and religion is a phenomenon as interesting as it is unique. For centuries before the advent of the Portuguese into Cochin, the Jews were strong in numbers and influence, but since the appearance of the former on the scene, they gradually began to decline in both. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Dr. Buchanan estimated their strength at 16,000, but at present there are only 1,137 Jews all told in the State, and successive censuses have

THE JEWS.

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THE JEWS.

disclosed the fact that they have of late been steadily decreasing in numbers. At one time they counted several wealthy men among them, and they enjoyed considerable influence in State councils, but they are now as a class far from being in affluent circumstances, and their political influence has become a negligible quantity.

Their first
settlement
in Cochin.

According to their own account the Cochin Jews made their way to this coast soon after the destruction of the second Temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A. D. This account rests solely on tradition, and its authenticity is questioned by several competent writers. There is however no inherent improbability in the account, as it is an admitted fact that the Jews began to visit this coast for commercial purposes as early as the time of Solomon and that they kept up this intercourse during the subsequent centuries. When the attack of Jerusalem by Pompey 64 years before the Christian era, followed that by Titus 70 years after it and the bloody retribution inflicted by Hadrian on Judea in 136 A. D., caused the great dispersion of the Jews, a number of them probably sought an asylum from persecution in Malabar, which was made familiar to them by centuries of commercial intercourse. There is however no direct evidence in support of the conjecture and till such evidence is forthcoming, the date of the Jewish settlement in Cochin, like that of the introduction of Christianity, must be treated as "not proven". It is however safe to surmise that the Jews first settled here in the early centuries of the Christian era and that their numbers were reinforced by fresh arrivals during the subsequent centuries when with the spread of Christianity they were subjected to persecution more relentless than that of the Roman times.

Their subsequent history.

The Jews appear to have been well received in their adopted country and to have enjoyed a degree of toleration to which they were strangers in Europe. In course of time they evidently attained a considerable measure of material prosperity, which is evidenced by the copper-plate charter granted to them by King Bhaskara Ravi Varma, who is believed by some to have reigned at the end of the seventh century and by others in the thirteenth century. The charter conferred valuable privileges upon them, and raised the head of the Jewish community virtually to a position of equality with the *Naduvazhi* chiefs. These privileges could not have been conferred upon them for nothing, and it is probable that they received them in return for substantial aid, which the financial genius of the stock of

Abraham enabled them to render to the rulers of the State, especially in times of war. They continued in the enjoyment of this high standing till the arrival of the Portuguese, who not only persecuted them but compelled them to leave their ancient settlement at Cranganur in 1565. Their compact colony thus became scattered, and they finally settled themselves in Mattancheri, Ernakulam, Chennamangalam, Parur and Mala. The Portuguese however continued to molest and plunder them till their power was overthrown by the Dutch in 1663. The latter and the English who came after them conferred upon the Jews all the advantages of a kindly toleration and of frequent and friendly intercourse with their brethren in the west. But after their dispersion from Cranganur, they never regained their former position; on the other hand, their prosperity and importance have steadily declined.

There are two classes of Jews in the State, the White and the Black. The former have preserved their racial purity and light complexion to a remarkable extent, while the latter are hardly distinguishable from the native Muhammadans. The Black Jews claim that they were the first settlers on this coast, the White Jews being much later immigrants, and that the darkness of their complexion was due partly to the intermixture of native blood but chiefly to their long residence in the tropics. On the other hand, the White Jews assert that they were not only the first comers but also the only genuine Jews here, and that the Black Jews are the descendants of the slaves purchased by them and then converted to Judaism and set free. These antagonistic views are tenaciously held by the two sides, and supported by arguments more or less plausible, while the several English and other writers who have dealt with this subject are equally divided in their opinion. The question is thus an unsettled one, and will probably have to remain so for all time. The antagonism between the two sections had been very acute for centuries and had even produced riots and disturbances, but they live in peace now, though their mutual relations cannot be said to be cordial.

White and
Black Jews.

The Jews everywhere live in narrow streets, but their houses are generally roomy and well ventilated. The White Jews wear a long tunic, generally white, a waistcoat over it buttoned up to the neck, loose white trousers and a small skull cap, and the Black Jews dress themselves more or less like the Jonaka Mappilas, but some of them put on shirts when they go out. Both sections invariably use wooden sandals, and cultivate

Charac-
teristics.

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love-locks over their ears, which chiefly distinguish them from other sections of the population. Their women wear bright coloured *mundus*, coloured loose jackets and wooden sandals. They put on a scarf over their heads when they are out of doors. In their religious observances the local Jews are as scrupulous as their brethren elsewhere. They observe the Sabbath and their religious feasts and fasts with great strictness and regularity, and practise the rite of circumcision on the eighth day after birth, when the child is also named. They generally marry young, the usual age being twenty in the case of boys and fourteen in that of girls. Polygamy, though not prohibited, is seldom practised. Divorce is easy, and can be effected by making good the amount specified in the marriage deed. Their home language is Malayalam, and only a few among them understand Hebrew, their liturgical language. Though most of the men and women can read and write, higher education has made but little progress among them. Only a very few of them are in well-to-do circumstances, but extreme poverty is very rare among them. A few among them are land-owners and cultivators, but the majority are petty traders. The peculiar financial genius of the race is conspicuous by its absence in the latter-day Jews of Cochin : there are no bankers, money-lenders or pawn-brokers among them.

CHAPTER IV.

AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS : Arable lands—Nilams—Parambas—Unassigned lands—PADDY CULTIVATION : Double crop lands—Single crop lands—Kole lands—Kari, puli and chal lands—Fugitive cultivation—Rotation crops—PARAMBA CULTIVATION : The cocoanut palm—The areca palm—Jack and mango trees—Other fruit trees—Plantain—Other vegetables—Edible roots—Spices and condiments—Special products—Coffee—Tea—Rubber—IRRIGATION : Chittur irrigation works—Other irrigation works—Possible irrigation projects—ECONOMIC CONDITION : Condition of the agricultural population—Agricultural methods and conditions—Agricultural improvements.

ALL arable lands in the State are broadly divided into two classes—*Nilams* and *Parambas*. The former are lands adapted for the cultivation of paddy and used almost entirely for that purpose, while all other cultivable lands are called parambas. The extent of each class of land under occupation at the close of 1908, is given talukwar in the subjoined statement:—

Taluk	Assigned lands in acres			Unassigned land in acres.
	Nilam	Paramba	Total	
Cochin-Kanayamur	31,600	41,213	72,813	1,613
Cranganur	2,916	6,551	9,467	...
Mukundapuram	54,339	67,201	1,21,540	9,317
Trichur	48,336	45,295	93,631	1,479
Talapilli	40,529	68,202	1,08,731	4,349
Chittur	28,074	45,719	73,793	145
Total	2,05,794	2,74,181	4,79,975	16,903

From an agricultural point of view, the nilams are divided into one-crop, two-crop and three-crop lands (*oruppu*, *iruppu* and *muppu*), according to the number of paddy crops that can be raised in them. The three crops that are successively raised

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS.

Arable lands.

Nilams.

CHAP. IV on three-crop lands are called *viruppu*, *mundakan* and *punja*, but
 AGRICULTURAL STA- lands of this description are extremely rare. Double crop lands
 TISTICS. are more common and form about a third of the extent of
 nilams. The crops raised in these are *viruppu* and *mundakan*.
 Single crop lands form the major extent of nilams, and one or
 another of these three crops is raised in them according to the
 season in which alone the land can be cultivated. As will be
 shown below, some lands can be cultivated only in the south-
 west, and some others in the north-east monsoon, while the
 rest can be cultivated only in the dry season.

Parambas. About a fourth of the extent of parambas is exclusively
 devoted to the cultivation of the cocoanut and arecanut palms,
 both of which are taxable trees, while in the rest fruit trees and
 vegetables are grown. A portion of the latter area however in
 the laterite plains is reserved for the cultivation of certain cere-
 als and pulses in rotation. Almost the whole area in the sandy
 tracts and small patches all over the laterite regions are devoted
 to the growth of cocoanut and areca.

Unassigned Only about three and a half per cent. of arable lands remain
 lands. unassigned, but of this a considerable area consists of uncultivable
 hills, rocks and lantana jungles. As they are intermingled with
 cultivated parambas, they have been brought within the scope
 of the revenue survey to avoid the heavy outlay that would be
 required for demarcating them separately. There is thus hardly
 any room for the extension of cultivation in Cochin. Intensive
 cultivation of nilams and the raising of more valuable crops in
 parambas are the directions to be sought for increasing the
 agricultural wealth of the State.

PADDY Paddy is in an almost exclusive sense the staple crop of the
 CULTIVA- State, as no other food grains are cultivated here to any appre-
 TION. ciable extent, and the whole population subsists on rice. Several
 varieties of paddy are grown, and its cultivation is carried on in
 different parts with some variety of detail in its methods.
 The nature of the harvest depends upon the quantity and sea-
 sonableness of the rainfall, and it is only in the Chittur Taluk,
 where the rainfall is not so copious as elsewhere, that irrigation
 works are constructed on any large scale to supply the deficien-
 cies of nature.

Double crop The most valuable and the most sought after lands are those
 lands. known as double crop nilams. They are found mostly in the
 valleys in the eastern half of the laterite regions and in the
 Chittur Taluk. The cultivation of the first crop begins about
 the beginning of May when the soil is moistened by the thunder

showers that precede the monsoon. The soil is then well ploughed and levelled, and the seed is sown broadcast just before or after the outbreak of the monsoon. The crop is harvested early or late in September according to the variety of seed sown. This crop is usually known as the *Kanni* crop, as it is generally reaped in that month, while the second crop, which is reaped in *Makaram* (January-February), is similarly known as the *Makaram* crop. For the second crop the land is prepared as soon as the *Kanni* crop is harvested. The land is better manured now than for the first crop, and instead of sowing seedlings raised in nurseries are transplanted early in October. The two crops thus depend on the copiousness and even distribution of the rains of the south-west and north-east monsoons respectively. If the rainfall is excessive, especially during the south-west monsoon, the first crop is liable to be destroyed by flood, while the failure of the north-east monsoon tends to dry up the second crop. The double crop lands generally lie fallow between January and May, but in patches here and there a third crop called *puncha* is raised by means of artificial irrigation from wells or rivers. Not only is the cost of cultivation very high in this case, but the raising of a third crop tends to exhaust the soil. This crop is raised not so much for profit as for giving work to the agricultural labourer.

Single crop
lands.

The cultivation of single crop lands, unlike that of double crop ones, presents considerable variety of features. Some lands, on account of their situation, are liable to drought during the interval between the two monsoons, while some others, owing to their situation on a much lower level, are subject to frequent inundations during the south-west monsoon. Only one crop can be raised in both kinds of lands, a *Kanni* crop in the former, which is known as *viruppu* lands, and a *Makaram* crop in the latter or *mundakan* lands. The time of sowing and reaping and the modes of cultivation are the same as in the case of the corresponding crops in double crop lands. Another class of single crop land is known as *kattadan*. These are lands which, owing to their clayey soil or low situation, are waterlogged as soon as the monsoon bursts, and on which therefore one long crop, called *railattur* or *kattadan*, takes the place of the usual two. In this case the seeds are sown broadcast in April, and the harvest is reaped in January. Besides these, there are two important classes of single crop lands which require separate treatment—the *kole* lands of the Trichur, Mukundapuram and Talapilli Taluks, and the *kari*, *puli* and *chal* lands of Cochin-Kanayannur and Cranganur. The only feature

CHAP. IV. common to the two classes is that neither requires ploughing or
 PADDY manuring.
 CULTIVA-
 TION.

Kole lands. The *kole* lands are in fact the fresh-water lakes described elsewhere,* and form one of the most valuable assets of the State. The most important of these is the Enamakkal-Trichur lake, which is over 16,000 acres in extent and of which nearly 1,500 acres belong to British Malabar and the rest to Cochin. This lake, says Mr. Logan, “deserves notice, if only for the singular struggle of human industry against the forces of nature which the cultivation of its bed demands. From the subsidence of the floods of one year to the commencement of the following rains the space of time is barely sufficient for the garnering of a crop. At the close of the rains the water in the lake, which is protected from tidal influences by a masonry dam at Enamakkal, is drained off by ceaseless labour day and night with Persian wheels aided not unfrequently now-a-days by patent pumps driven by portable steam-engines, whose fires glow weirdly across the waste of waters on dark nights, while the incessant throb and rattle of the engines and machinery strive hard to dispel any illusions. Every foot of ground that can be thus reclaimed is protected by fences of wattle and mud and is planted up with well-grown rice seedlings. Spaces are left between the fields, and into these channels the water drawn from the fields is poured, so that boats have to be employed for visiting the different fields, the dry beds of which lie some three or four feet below the level of the water in the canals. In the dry weather the lake presents a magnificent level green expanse of the most luxuriant growing rice, the pleasant effect of which to the eye is heightened by contrast with the snowy plumage of the innumerable cranes and other aquatic birds which here revel in a continual feast. With the early thunder harbingers of the south-west monsoon in April recommences the struggle with the slowly but steadily rising flood. Numberless Persian wheels bristle in their bamboo frame-works for the contest with the threatening floods, and as the season advances thousands of the population, many of them good caste Nayar women, are perched high above the scene on these machines, continuing the day and night struggle with the rising floods for the preservation of their ripening crops. The bulwarks of the fields are frequently breached and the unmaturing crop drowned. Often a large area has to be reaped by simply heading the stalks from boats; but, as a rule, an enormously rich crop rewards this remarkable

* See pp. 9-10. *ante*.

industry". * The Muriyad lake in Mukundapuram and the Kattakampal lake in Talapilli are cultivated in the same manner, but they are of much smaller extent.

CHAP. IV.
PADDY
CULTIVA-
TION.

Kari, puli and *chal* lands are the swamps between the sandy ridges and the shallow portions of the back-waters bordering on cocoanut plantations, which are used for paddy cultivation in Cochin-Kanayannur, Cranganur and Mukundapuram. The soil contains a good deal of saline matter and the lands are subject to the influx of salt water. Crops can therefore be raised in them only during the south-west monsoon, when the preponderance of fresh water minimises the influence of the saline matter in the soil. All salt water is first drained off from the land, and bunds are put up to prevent its further ingress. The earth is then dug up with long-handled country spades and arranged in heaps about a foot in height and five feet in circumference. The seed is sown on the heaps a little before the monsoon sets in, and when the seedlings are about six inches high, the heaps are dug up and the whole field levelled. The paddy grown in these lands is known as *pokkali*, and is larger-sized than any other variety grown in Cochin. It takes a long time to mature, and the crop can generally be harvested only in October. If the crop is not damaged by the ingress of salt water or abnormal monsoon inundations, as is often the case, an abundant harvest may be relied upon, as the soil is rich in alluvium. No ploughing or manuring is required, and the cost of cultivation is comparatively low. The *chal* lands are but shallow patches of back-water bordering the main land. They are cultivated in the same manner, but their situation renders them more liable to be destroyed by inundations.

—
Kari, puli
and *chal*
lands.

Modan and *peruvaka* are the chief fugitive crops raised in Cochin. The former is grown on the low hills which are so common in the Taluks of Mukundapuram, Trichur and Talapilli. The ground is tilled a dozen times between October and April, and when the pre-monsoon showers begin to moisten the land, the seed mixed with ashes and cow dung is sown broadcast. The crop is harvested in September, and if the monsoon rains are abundant, the crop is generally good. If sufficient moisture is left in the ground after the harvest, a crop of gingelly or horse gram is raised in it, and the land is then allowed to lie fallow for two or more years according to the quality of the soil. *Peruvaka*, or hill rice, is grown on patches of forest-clad

Fugitive cul-
tivation.

* The Malabar District Manual, p. 16. The use of steam pumps for baling out water has become more universal since Mr. Logan's time.

CHAP. IV. hills in rotation. The patches are cleared of all jungle growth and burnt, and the seed is sown in April and the crop reaped in September. Owing to the richness of the virgin soil, the harvest, if properly weeded and effectively protected from wild animals, is generally abundant. This form of cultivation, once so common, is now practically prohibited owing to its ruinous effects upon forest growth.

Rotation
crops.

The farmers here have a fair idea of the advantage of a rotation of crops. After the harvest is reaped in *modan* and single crop paddy lands, and if sufficient moisture is left in the soil, a second crop is raised in them in many places as a rotation crop, which is generally some other cereal, pulse or oil-seed. This second crop actually improves the land by increasing the supply of available nitrogen in the soil. Among the cereals so raised are *chama* (*Panicum miliaceum*), which is cultivated in several parts of the laterite regions and which forms the food of the poor in some parts during certain months and of the rich on fast days, and *cholam* (*Sorghum vulgare*) and *kumbu* (*Pennisetum typhoidium*), cultivation of the last two being almost confined to the Chittur Taluk. Among the pulses, horse gram and dal (*Cajanus Indicus*) are the only ones that are grown to any appreciable extent, and among oil-seeds are gingelly and ground-nut. Ground-nut cultivation was introduced only recently, but it is steadily increasing especially in the Chittur Taluk, while gingelly is grown here and there in most parts of the State except the sea-board.

PARAMBA
CULTIVA-
TION.

The cocoan-
nut palm.

Of paramba industries, the most extensive and the most valuable is the cultivation of the cocoanut palm. As the price of cocoanut has risen immensely in recent years, its cultivation has become very profitable and is rapidly increasing. In the alluvial sandy tracts especially, paddy flats are being converted into cocoanut plantations. The area under cocoanut now is roughly 50,000 acres, and the number of trees counted by the Settlement department exceeds twenty-nine lakhs. The products of this tree are the chief articles of export from the State: the value of cocoanut oil, copra, coir-yarn, matting, rope and poonac exported in 1909 from the port of British Cochin (one-half of which may be put down as the produce of the State) amounted to 220 lakhs of rupees. In the sandy tracts where cocoanut cultivation is easy and inexpensive, the tree is planted in every available acre of paramba, while in the laterite regions where the cultivation is more difficult and expensive, it is generally planted on the banks of rivers and streams and on the lower

slopes of the hills that surround paddy flats. Fully matured nuts from middle-aged trees are selected for propagation. They are first dried in the sun for a week and then soaked in water for about a fortnight, after which they are put down in rich soil with the tops showing above ground. The nuts begin to sprout in about three months, and the seedlings are planted out within a year in small pits in alluvial soil and in much larger ones in laterite parambas. The trees should be planted at least thirty feet apart, or about sixty to an acre; but over-planting being only too common in Cochin, as many as a hundred trees are often found in an acre. The plants are watered everywhere in the hot weather for the first three years, after which watering is not necessary in sandy soil. All that is required thereafter is to stir up the soil throughout the paramba twice a year and to dig a shallow trench round each tree during the monsoon and fill it up with manure. In laterite soil watering is not essential after three years, but a good crop cannot be had without it. The time required for a cocoanut tree to bear depends on the species of the tree—there are several well known varieties—and the nature of the soil on which it is planted. One species begins to bear in two years, but the average time required is eight years in alluvial and ten in laterite soils. The tree bears vigorously for about thirty years and then begins to decline. The average annual yield of a tree in sandy soil is about forty, the price of which now exceeds two rupees, but good trees yield over a hundred. The uses to which the products of the cocoanut tree are put are innumerable. The kernel, when dried, becomes the *copra* of commerce, from which cocoanut oil is extracted, and the cake or *poonac* is good cattle fodder and an excellent manure. The kernel is also largely made use of in making Indian curries and puddings. Out of the fibre in the husk are made coir, ropes of all sizes, mattings and rugs. The shell and the stem of the leaves are extensively used as fuel, the leaves for thatching, and the trunk for house building. When the nut is only half ripe, it is full of a liquid which makes a delicious and refreshing drink. Further, the tree is tapped for toddy, and from the toddy jaggery is prepared and arrack distilled. The cocoanut tree has many enemies, the chief of which are rats, toddy cats and a species of beetle called *chellu*. The first two damage tender nuts by gnawing holes in them: they are generally kept away by plaited cocoanut leaves or thorns bound round the trunk of the trees. The *chellu* devours the leaves, bit by bit, while certain worms destroy the roots and

CHAP. IV.
PARAMBA
CULTIVA-
TION.

burrow into the trunk. Quite recently, a mysterious palm disease has made its appearance in North Travancore not far from Cochin: its nature is now being investigated by experts. It appears to be a contagious disease, and destroys cocoanut plantations wholesale.*

The areca
palm.

The next most important paramba industry is the cultivation of the areca palm. It is grown in the same localities as the cocoanut, and the process is almost the same. In the alluvial tracts it is grown in cocoanut plantations quite as a minor produce; very little care is taken of it, and the yield is inconsiderable. In the laterite regions however extensive plots of parambas are devoted exclusively to the rearing of this palm. It requires and receives more watering and manuring than the cocoanut palm. Neglect in watering often destroys the areca palm, while it affects only the yield of the latter. In a fairly good plantation, the average annual yield of a tree is over 200 nuts worth about four annas, and as five to six hundred trees can be planted in an acre, it is obvious that areca cultivation is a very profitable undertaking. The approximate area under areca is 10,000 acres, and the trees counted by the Settlement department numbered 54 lakhs, of which over 34 lakhs are in the Taluks of Talapilli and Mukundapuram. The areca palm is sometimes attacked by a mysterious disease, locally known as *makali*, which at times destroys the crops wholesale, as it did last year especially in the Talapilli Taluk. No preventive measures have yet been suggested, the nature of the disease still awaiting investigation.

Jack and
mango trees.

Jack and mango trees are extensively grown in the gardens attached to dwelling houses and in cocoanut and arecanut *topes*, but gardens exclusively devoted to their growth are almost unknown. They grow best in clayey soils; their growth is stunted and poor on sand. The mango tree requires very little care, but the jack requires careful nursing for the first two or three years. Both come into bearing in about eight years, and bear in full vigour for nearly a hundred years. The jack yields on an average forty fruits a year worth about four rupees where there is a good market for the same, while the yield of the mango tree is capricious. The timber of the jack tree is valuable and is largely used in house building and cabinet making. It is

* In the Chittur Taluk the palmyra palm is largely grown and takes the place of the cocoanut. The toddy, jaggery and arrack used there are the produce of the palmyra. The cultivation of this palm does not require the care and attention that the cocoanut and areca demand. It takes about 20 years to come into bearing.

close grained and lends itself to good polish. The heart of the wood when freshly cut has a beautiful yellow colour, but long exposure darkens it into a mahogany hue. The timber of the mango tree is good only for making boats, tea-chests, etc. *

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Among the other fruit trees grown here the most important is the bread-fruit (*Artocarpus incisiifolia*), which is both delicious and nourishing. But it is not grown to any considerable extent. If copiously watered, it begins to bear in five years and to yield three crops in ten, but if not properly watered, the growth and the crop are poor. The cashew-nut tree (*Anacardium occidentale*) was brought to this coast by Cabral from South America. In recent years people have begun to grow this tree extensively for fuel in parambas whose elevation is too high for well irrigation. The rearing of the tree costs but little labour or money except that the young tree has to be protected from cattle for the first three or four years. The fruit consists of a red or yellow fleshy peduncle with a hard nut attached to it. The kernel of the nut is used in several culinary preparations, while the peduncle allays the hunger and thirst of the poorer classes. Among the fruit trees that are grown here and there in the premises of dwelling houses are the tamarind, drum-stick, Malay apple (*Engenia malaccensis*), rose apple (*Engenia jambos*) and pine-apple (*Pandanus odoratissimus*), citron, pumplemose and pomegranate. The cultivation of lime trees is almost confined to the Chittur Taluk.

Other fruit
trees.

Several varieties of plantain are grown largely in the compounds attached to home and farmsteads. Except in the case of one variety called *nentra*, their cultivation is quite easy and inexpensive. No watering or manuring is needed, and the fruits come to maturity in about eighteen months after the shoot is planted out. The value of a bunch of plantain is one to six annas according to its size and quality. The banana, or *nentra*, plantain requires copious watering and manuring, and is therefore planted in low parambas or in nilams used as nurseries for paddy. The shoot is generally planted out about the end of October, and, if it is properly tended, the fruit comes to maturity and becomes fit for use in about ten or eleven months. Banana cultivation is very profitable, but it requires constant care and vigilant attention. An acre of banana plantation brings in a net profit of Rs. 100 to 150.

Plantain.

Several kinds of vegetables are grown in parambas during the rainy season, and in single crop lands and on river slopes

Other vege-
tables.

* Grafted mango trees are exotics of recent introduction. Its cultivation is now steadily increasing.

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TION.

during the hot season. The chief of these are the brinjal or egg-plant (*Solanum melongena*), lady's finger (*Hibiscus esculentus*), the bitter gourd (*Momordica charantia*), the snake gourd (*Trichosanthes diaca*), cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*), pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo* and *C. Mascima*) and water melon (*Cucumis colocinthum*). Except on river slopes, these can be grown in the hot season only with the aid of artificial irrigation. Some attempts were made in recent years to grow English vegetables here, but the result was anything but encouraging.

Edible roots. Edible roots of several varieties are cultivated, of which the most favourite one among the Malayalis is *chena* or elephant yam (*Arum campanulatum*). The cultivation of tapioca (*Marripot utilissima*) was but recently introduced; as it is found to be a profitable industry, it is rapidly spreading. Among other roots which are usually grown are *chembu* (*Caladium esculentum*), *kurka* (*Lavendula carnosu*), *kachil* (*Dioscorea alata*), arrow root (*Curuma angustifolia*) and sweet potato (*Convolvulus batatas*).

Spices and condiments. Pepper was once indigenous to Cochin and was extensively grown, but its cultivation is now neglected. Pepper vines are found scattered in gardens, where they are trained on jack and mango trees, but regular plantations are almost unknown. The nutmeg grows well in clayey soil, but its cultivation is almost confined to the banks of the Alwaye river. The plant requires very careful nursing, and begins to bear only in about fifteen years, which probably accounts for the neglect of an otherwise profitable industry. Cardamom grows wild in some of the forests, but it is not regularly cultivated, as it is in Travancore. The average annual yield is only about 2,000 lb. Betel is largely grown in all the Taluks, the finest in the sandy tracts and the most spiey in the Chittur Taluk. The vine is usually trained on artificial standards, except on the sea-board, where it is generally trained on the stems of cocoanut and areca palms. Ginger, turmeric and chillies are important bye-products of Cochin gardens, but they are not cultivated as extensively as could be desired. The cultivation of cumin seed, coriander, mustard, fenugreek, onion and garlic, which are among the spices usually employed to give flavour to native curries, is altogether unknown in the State.

Special products. The cultivation of coffee was introduced into Cochin by the Dutch in the first half of the eighteenth century, but it was not then grown to any large extent. The first systematic attempt to cultivate it was made in 1838, when a few coffee plantations were opened by European capitalists on the banks of the Alwaye

and Chalakudi rivers, but these were for some reason or other abandoned in a few years. Between 1862 and 1870, over 8,000 acres of land on the Nelliampati plateau were assigned for coffee cultivation, when eighteen plantations were opened by European planters and one by a native. The area actually planted up was only about 3,300 acres. Of the two species of coffee, Arabian and Liberian, the whole area was devoted exclusively to the cultivation of the former. The labour employed is almost entirely foreign. The average number of men employed during the working season is about a thousand, and the average annual yield nearly a million pounds. The plantations were in their most flourishing condition in the eighties of the last century, but towards the end of the century the large increase in the output of Brazilian coffee drove down the price of the article to about one-half of what it was, since which the estates began to decline. With the exception of three or four, they are now in a neglected condition, and may probably be abandoned at no distant date. The Government realises from the estates an annual income of a little over Rs. 12,000 on account of quit rent, which is levied at the rate of a rupee and a half per acre.

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In the eighties tea began to be grown in four of the coffee estates, and over sixty acres were planted with it. But the industry did not make further progress owing probably to the heavy outlay required on machinery and buildings for the manufacture of tea. These tea gardens have been practically abandoned in recent years.

Tea.

The cultivation of rubber has recently begun to receive considerable attention. The first plantation was opened up in the Palapilli forests in 1905, which was followed by that in Vellanikara in Trichur. The plants in both the estates appeared to grow remarkably well, especially in the former, where the trees are reported to have attained the best growth yet on record in the east. Encouraged by these satisfactory reports, the Darbar decided to lease more forest lands, which have no capital value, for the cultivation of rubber, and accordingly notified for sale about 5,500 acres in Palapilli and 10,000 acres in the Sholayar valley. Nearly 5,000 acres in Palapilli were bought up by planters in 1909 for a sum of 1·8 lakhs of rupees, and a beginning has since been made to open up the Sholayar valley, where an assignment of 1,250 acres was recently made. The total area already assigned is nearly 7,200 acres, of which 3,735 have been fully planted up. The trees planted in 1905 began to be tapped in

Rubber.

CHAP. IV. the second half of 1909, the outturn being 30 lb. per acre. Of
 PARAMBA the three varieties of rubber, the one grown in these estates is
 CULTIVA- that known as para rubber. All these estates are owned by
 TION. Europeans, and no native capitalists have come forward yet to
 take part in this enterprise, although some native land-holders
 have begun to plant small plots in the plains with rubber.

IRRIGA- Owing to the abundance and regularity of rainfall in the
 TION. State, the necessity for irrigation works on any large scale has
 not been felt here, except in the Taluk of Chittur where, rain-
 fall being much less copious, it was found necessary several
 decades ago to construct irrigation works to supplement the
 natural supply of water. In the other parts of the State all
 that was found necessary was to put up *chiras*, or embank-
 ments, for the storage of rain water or for the prevention of the
 ingress of salt water.

Chittur irri- The irrigation works at Chittur owe their origin to General
 gation works. Cullen, who found by his barometrical observations in the forties
 of the last century that the river there had a fall of about 200 feet
 between the eastern and western frontier and that it formed there-
 fore an excellent basis for irrigation operations. On his suggestion
 the Darbar started the construction of an anicut at Mulattara
 in 1849, together with the necessary canals for the distribution
 of water. The system, as originally designed, was however so
 faulty that the work had to be re-done partially or wholly more
 than once, so that it got into regular working order only about
 twenty-five years ago. A few years after the Mulattara works
 were started, Tottil Pitchu Iyer, an enterprising Brahman
 from Coimbatore, constructed a small anicut at Nurni. This
 anicut was however acquired by the Government in 1858, when
 Pitchu Iyer began the construction of a larger anicut higher
 up the stream at Tenbaramadakku. A similar anicut was
 constructed still higher up at Kunnankattupati by another
 enterprising land-holder, Kittu Pillai by name, a few years
 subsequently. Both these anicuts, together with the main and
 subsidiary canals connected with them, were acquired by the
 Government within the last few years, so that all the irrigation
 works in Chittur, except a few minor ones, are now the proper-
 ty of Government. The area served by these irrigation works
 is nearly eighteen thousand acres in round numbers, and the
 length of the main and branch channels 53 and 76 miles respec-
 tively. There are also several reservoirs in the Taluk for the
 storage of water where natural facilities exist for the same.
 Nine small irrigation systems are still owned by private indi-
 viduals : they irrigate between them 2,000 acres of land.

Except a small anicut at Kallai across the Viyyur river which serves to irrigate a few hundred acres, there are no irrigation works like those of Chittur in any other part of the State. In the tracts bordering the back-waters there are several artificial embankments, called *pulinchiras*, to prevent the inrush of salt water. In the absence of such embankments it is not possible to bring the major portion of nilams in the sandy tracts under cultivation. The largest and most costly of these is the Enamakkal dam, which was constructed and is maintained jointly by the British and Cochin Governments. In the laterite regions similar bunds are put up, where natural facilities exist for it, for the storage of water, by means of which thousands of acres of waste lands have been converted into single crop nilams. Temporary bunds are also put up annually across jungle streams in several places where the water supply is insufficient for the second crop. The supply is eked out by percolation or by baling out the water held up by these bunds.

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IRRIGATION.

Other irrigation works.

There is a general impression that the copious rainfall of this coast renders costly irrigation works unnecessary. This might have been true in the times of our grandfathers, when the State was sparsely peopled, but now that the pressure of population on the soil is become extremely hard, the aid of artificial irrigation for increased production is becoming increasingly imperative. The Chalakudi, the Manali, the Kurumali, and other rivers, especially the first, are both in water supply and land level appear to be excellent bases for important irrigation works. If works on a large scale are undertaken there, there is every prospect of large areas of waste lands being converted into single crop nilams and thousands of acres of single crop nilams into double crop ones.

Possible irrigation projects.

The agricultural population consists of landlords, cultivating and non-cultivating tenants, farm labourers, growers of special products and cattle breeders, who form one-half of the total population of the State. Exact statistics are not available for a comparison of the present with the former condition of these classes, or for ascertaining whether the State's production of food keeps pace with the growth of population. There is however one outstanding fact that goes to show that the condition of the agricultural classes has considerably improved during the last fifty or sixty years, though it is still far from being one of prosperity and contentment. On a rough calculation, the cost of living has during this period increased only by about 150 per cent., but the price of the chief agricultural products, paddy and cocoanut, has risen by 200 and 300 per cent. respectively. The great majority of small farmers and a considerable minority of

ECONOMIC
CONDITION.

Condition of the agricultural population.

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the labourers are now clothed better, live in better houses and have generally a greater command of the necessaries of life, though the margin between bare sustenance and want is still a narrow one. The bulk of the agricultural labourers are emancipated serfs, who are still paid in kind and at the same old rates. Their condition as a class cannot be said to have improved to any appreciable extent, though individuals among them have, by obtaining employment in plantations and gardens, begun to earn better wages in recent years. Large holders of private and Government lands ought to have, and some of them really have, benefited largely during the last half century by the good government of the State and the marked increase in the price of agricultural produce. But a good many of them have by their indolence, improvidence and litigation brought themselves within the grip of the money-lender : their estates are heavily encumbered, and the dismemberment thereof is in more or less rapid progress. The class that has prospered most in recent years are the substantial tenants, who hold lands on *Kanam* and *Verumpattam* under the Sirkar or private *janmis*. They sub-let their holdings to cultivating under-tenants and take to occupations other than agricultural, especially government service and the learned professions, to enhance their income. They now occupy a position somewhat similar to that of the upper middle classes in England, the most advanced section of the community intellectually and morally.

Agricultural
methods and
conditions.

As almost all cultivable lands have already been occupied, there is little scope for the extension of cultivation in Cochin, and the present outturn of food grains is hardly sufficient for the consumption of half the population. Nowhere therefore are improvements in agricultural methods and conditions more urgently called for than in this State. The Cochin ryot is a practical agriculturist with primitive and non-progressive methods, a regular and copious rainfall and a fairly fertile soil have dwarfed his ingenuity and resourcefulness. Further, agriculture is mostly in the hands of petty farmers with no capital, who cultivate five to fifteen acres of land generally sub-let to them by non-cultivating tenants. Within living memory substantial tenants used to farm their own lands, but in recent years they have left their holdings to the care of under-tenants, and have entered government service and the bar through the portals of English schools. These under-tenants are for the most part poor and ignorant and have neither the knowledge nor the capital required for effecting agricultural improvements. Nor

do they take full advantage of the resources at their command. To take the question of manure alone for illustration, cattle manure and green manure used to be plentiful at one time, but what with the deterioration of cattle, the reservation of forests and the extension of cultivation, they are not so plentiful now. And yet the ryots make no attempt to turn the available manure to the best account. Cattle manure is badly and wastefully prepared, and much of it is lost by pasturing cattle on wastes. Valuable manures like tank silt and night-soil are available in hundreds of tons, but the former is hardly used and the latter is actually abhorred. Fish manure is used to some extent in cocoanut plantations on the sea-board, but nowhere else, while the use of poudrette and artificial manures is practically unknown. In justice however to the petty farmers of nilams, it must be admitted that they are often rack-rented by their landlords—*janmis* as well as non-cultivating tenants—and that many of them are in the grip of the money-lender. Further, they have little inducement towards intensive cultivation and agricultural improvements, as these latter spell unearned increment to the landlord. In this respect the tenants of parambas are in a much better position, as they are entitled to substantial compensation for improvements made by them. Consequently, the cultivation of parambas has of late begun to receive more careful and intelligent attention, and is now making considerable progress, which is mainly due to the enterprise of native Christians.

The present Government of Cochin is prepared to do all it can to effect agricultural improvements and to improve the condition of the ryots. Want of knowledge, want of capital, unserviceable cattle and insecurity of tenure are among the chief impediments now in the way of agricultural progress. With a view to remedy the first defect the Government has recently created an agricultural department and opened a demonstration farm. In the latter improved methods of cultivation and the advantages of raising new crops are being demonstrated, and manurial experiments are being carried out. The Superintendent of Agriculture is also engaged in issuing agricultural bulletins for the instruction of ryots and in imparting advice to them personally during his tours. To help the ryots with capital to effect improvements, a system of agricultural loans on easy terms has been sanctioned, and steps are being taken to assist them in promoting co-operative credit. A veterinary department has been opened to deal with cattle disease, and

Agricultural
improvements.

CHAP. IV. arrangements are being made to start cattle breeding and dairy
ECONOMIC farming operations.* In the case of Government lands which
CONDITION. form about 40 per cent. of the occupied area, permanent occupancy right was conferred upon the tenants by His Highness the Raja's Proclamation of March 1905, and the question of conferring similar rights on tenure holders under private *janmis* is now under consideration. These measures of Government however will serve only the purpose of clearing the way for the people: real improvement must come from the people themselves. Unless and until educated and enterprising cadets of the land-holding classes take the matter in their own hands, there is little chance of agricultural improvements being effected on any large scale. On the other hand, there is every chance of the lands steadily deteriorating if left in the hands of petty farmers who are but tenants at will. They have every temptation to over-crop and under-feed the soil, the inevitable consequence of which is its gradual exhaustion.

* According to a census of agricultural stock taken in September last, there are in the State only 64,058 cows, 66,722 bullocks, 31,487 he-buffaloes, 10,099 she-buffaloes and 38,286 sheep and goats.

CHAPTER V.

FOREST ADMINISTRATION.

FORESTS: Extent—Ownership—Administrative divisions—Natural divisions—Flora—Monopoly trees—Junglewood—Other exploitable trees—Minor forest produce—EARLY ADMINISTRATION: The leasing of forests—Introduction of departmental working—Organisation of the department—Departmental system—Permit system—Contract system—Degradation of the forests—Plantations—Elephants—PRESENT ADMINISTRATION: Report on the forests—Reorganisation of the department—New system of working of the forests—Forest crimes and forest laws—Forest settlement FOREST TRAMWAY: Its origin—Development of the scheme—Description of the Tramway—Inclined ways—Rolling stock—Tramway administration—Financial.

OVER half the area of the State was at one time covered with forests, but the gradual extension of cultivation along the hill slopes and valleys, especially during the second half of the last century, has reduced their extent considerably. The present area of the forests is approximately 605 square miles, or about 43 per cent. of the total extent of the State.

Except a few thousand acres of isolated patches owned by private *janmis*, the whole forest area belongs to the State. When the feudal chiefs were in power, they owned a large extent of the existing forests. The major portion of the Paravattani forests, for instance, belonged to the Perumanam Devaswami, the Kodasseri hills to the Kodasseri Kaimal, the Pottundi hills to the Kodakara Nayar, the Chittur *kanam* to Tiruttal Acchan (now represented by Chondath Mannadiyar), and so on, but they all came into the possession of the State between the years 1760 and 1780. The State however had not had undisputed possession of the whole area till 1888. A portion of the Pottundi forests was claimed by Nellikal Edam Acchan of the Palghat Raja's family in 1813, but the Commissioner appointed by the British Government to settle the dispute decided it in favour of Cochin. In 1853 Coimbatore claimed Parambikolam, but the arbitrator appointed next year to adjudicate the case decided it in favour of Cochin. Malabar then claimed the same tract, and this claim also was disallowed by the arbitrator in 1893. Travancore claimed the whole Idyara valley and the whole of the forests to the

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south of the Chalakudi river; the former claim was decided in favour of Cochin in 1884, and the latter against her in 1886. Claims were made on behalf of certain British *janmis* to the north Nelliampatis from Maniyakutti to Vittanasseri and to portions of the eastern Machad and Paravattani forests; these claims were however set aside in favour of Cochin in 1888. Cochin has thus succeeded in maintaining her title to almost the whole of the disputed forest area.

Adminis-
trative
divisions.

The Cochin forests were from early times divided into six ranges or divisions, *viz.*, Pottundi, Machad, Paravattani, Palapilli, Kodasseri, and Malayattur. To these were added the Nelliampatis as a seventh division in 1838, when they began to be exploited for the first time. Some minor changes were made in this distribution from time to time, and since 1908 the forests have been divided into five ranges, *viz.*, Machad-Paravattani, Machad-Paravattani frontier, Nemmara-Nelliampatis (which includes also the Pottundi and the Chittur *kanam*), Kodasseri (which includes also Malayattur and Palapilli), and Ornkoinban Working Circle.

Natural
divisions.

Owing to differences in soil, rainfall and the resultant flora, the forests are divisible into two natural areas—deciduous and evergreen. Though no area is exclusively deciduous or evergreen and though these areas are intermixed with one another, the plains and the lower slopes of the ghats may be generally classed as deciduous, and the higher slopes and the plateaux and valleys as evergreen. The former were at one time very valuable, but owing to their accessibility, they have long been over-worked, and are now almost destitute of valuable trees. The latter have remained virgin forests for want of suitable outlets, and contain varieties of magnificent trees of great value. The soil of deciduous areas varies from the richest loam to bare rocky grounds, but owing to the annual forest fires they are devoid of vegetable mould. The soil of evergreen areas is usually a clayey loam containing a great quantity of humus and therefore capable of retaining considerable moisture all the year round. The Chittur *kanam* or teak area is distinct in character from the rest of the forests. It is almost a level plain lying within the Palghat gap, and its soil is black cotton well adapted for the growth of teak trees. Other varieties of timber trees hardly grow there, probably because they are elbowed out by the generous growth of teak.

Flora.

The copious rainfall of the country and the humidity of the soil and atmosphere are very favourable to the vigorous growth of vegetable life, and the flora of Cochin is therefore remarkable

for its variety and luxuriance. Notwithstanding the denudation that has been going on in the accessible forests for over a century, the whole forest area still exhibits, especially during the wet months, a splendid luxuriance of foliage and flowers. The virgin forests which cover over a third of the total area are covered with magnificent teak and other valuable trees in every stage of growth, and form one of the most valuable assets of the State. The flora of Cochin has however not yet been subjected to systematic investigation by experts, and consequently an enumeration of the more exploitable forest trees is all that can be attempted here.

The most valuable trees of the Cochin forests.—teak (*Tectona grandis*), ebony (*Diospyros ebenum*) and black-wood (*Dalbergia latifolia*)—are Sirkar monopolies, wherever they may grow. Teak has been a royal monopoly from very early times, but ebony and black-wood were made such only in 1837. Teak grows in all the forests; in the Orukumban Working Circle, the higher Pottundi slopes and the Chittur *kanam* it grows rapidly and to a magnificent height and girth, but that grown in the other forests is generally of an inferior quality, both in size and grain. Ebony and black-wood also grow in all our forests, but all the well grown trees in the accessible forests have already fallen to the axe of the timber-cutter. Ebony grows with comparative rapidity in loose damp soils, and requires plenty of rainfall and a moist temperature, while black-wood is a slow grower and affects a free but not marshy soil.

Monopoly
trees.

The most valuable timber trees after the monopoly trees mentioned above are vendankorana (*Bignonia xylocarpa*), an excellent even-grained timber susceptible of good polish, which was once abundant in the forests but has now become very rare through the unchecked activity of the timber-cutter; jack (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) and ayini (*Artocarpus hirsuta*), both growing more abundantly in the plains than in the jungles and both in great demand for house building and furniture making; irul (*Xylia dolabriformis*), maruthu and koromaruthu or tenbavu (*Terminalia paniculata* and *Terminalia tomentosa*), mailellu (*Vitex altissima*), cherupunna (*Calophyllum tomentosum*), which yields the “poonspar” of commerce; punna (*Calophyllum wightianum*), venga (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), pongu and kal pongu (*Hopea parviflora* and *Hopea malabarica*), red cedar (*Cedrela toona*), white cedar (*Dysoxylum malabaricum*), benteak *Lagerstræmia lanceolata* and kunnivaka (*Albizia odoratissima*). Among other valuable timber trees are elavu (*Bombax malabaricum*),

Junglewood.

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FORESTS. tanni (*Terminalia bellerica*), which yields the "myrobolans" of commerce, chini (*Tetrameles nudiflora*), mango (*Mangifera indica*), puvam or Ceylon oak (*Schleichera trijaga*), manja-kadam-ba (*Adina cordifolia*), and chadacchi (*Grewia tiliaefolia*).

Other exploit-
able trees.

There are several varieties of trees in the Cochin forests which still await exploitation. Some of them are good for the manufacture of paper pulp, and these are now under investigation by European experts, while others yield oil, gums, resins and dyes. Among the soft woods convertible into paper pulp are clavu, chini, chadacchi, and mango, which have been already mentioned, pala (*Alstonia scholaris*), arayini (*Antiaris toxicaria*), murukku (*Erythrina Indica*), naval (*Eugenia arnottiana*), nelli (*Phyllanthus Emblica*), ambazham (*Spondias mangifera*), parakam (*Ficus hispida*), virasam (*Cordia myca*), etc., as also bamboos, reeds and plantain trees. Puvam, marotti (*Hydnocarpus wightiana*), ungu (*Pongamia glabra*), veppu (*Melia azadirachta*) and other trees yield oil, while lac can be collected from puvam, plasu (*Butea frondosa*), pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), vaka (*Albizia lebbek*), cheru (*Holigarna arnottiana*) and other trees. The venga tree already mentioned yields the dragon's blood or gum kino of commerce, the plasu the Bengal kino, the paini (*Vateria indica*) and thelli (*Canarium strictum*) yield dammer, and the matti tree (*Ailanthus malabarica*) yields a fragrant resinous juice which is burnt as incense and used for medicinal purposes. Among the trees and plants yielding tanning and dyeing substances are the Indian laburnum (*Cassia fistula* and *Cassia auriculata*), the gallnut tree (*Terminalia chebula*), the sapan tree (*Casalpinia sappan*), the arnotta (*Bixa orellana*), turmeric and kuvva (*Curcuma longa* and *Curcuma angustifolia*).

Minor forest
produce.

Cardamom is the most important of the minor produce of the State forests. It has never been systematically grown as in Travancore. It grows wild in the interior forests, and its collection is given on contract every year. The average annual income from this source is only Rs. 1,000. Among other minor produce are honey, beeswax, lemon grass, nux vomica and ginger. Dammer, gallnut, turmeric and kuvva have already been referred to.

EARLY
ADMINIS-
TRATION.

The leasing
of forests.

The Portuguese carried on ship-building operations in Cochin on an extensive scale, and the Dutch in their time carried on considerable export trade in timber. A portion of the timber required by them they obtained from the Cochin forests, but it is not known how the forests were then worked. When the administration was placed in the hands of *Karyakars*, the

forests were also placed in their charge. It was then that the practice was introduced of leasing the forests to contractors for specific periods for a lump sum. The average amount realised by the lease was only ten thousand rupees per annum; the amount never went beyond twelve thousand. The whole forest area was practically placed at the absolute disposal of the lessees, no limit being placed on the quantity of timber to be annually removed. The reckless destruction of the forests probably began during this period.

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As this system appeared to be injurious to the forests and as it did not bring in a revenue adequate for the requirements of his times, Colonel Munro abolished it, and made arrangements for the departmental working of the forests. An officer designated *Mala Mel Vicharippu*, or Superintendent of the Forests, was appointed as the head of the department in 1813, and was given a staff of writers, accountants, peons and workmen to carry on the operations. Their work was confined to the extraction of teak; private individuals were allowed to remove all other kinds of trees and all minor forest produce on payment of customs and transit duties. The average annual receipts of the department during the six years of Munro's administration were Rs. 32,000. In 1818, an European officer, Lieutenant Lethbridge, was appointed Chief Superintendent without prejudice to his duties as Killedar of the Nayar Brigade. During the four years he was in charge of the department, a large quantity of teak was extracted with a view to secure funds to get over the financial embarrassments of the Darbar. He worked the forests without any system and without adequate regard for their future, but it must be said in justice to him that he dribbled all the forests he worked with several lakhs of teak seeds every year.

Introduc-
tion of de-
partmental
working.

On the retirement of Lieutenant Lethbridge in 1822, a low paid native Superintendent was appointed in his place, and during the weak administrations of Seshagiri Rau and Sankara Menon, the department was a hot-bed of corruption. But matters began to improve with the accession of Venkatasubbayya to the Diwanship in 1835. He paid special attention to the improvement of forest administration; a detailed set of rules was drawn up to regulate the working of the department, and Mr. J. A. Kohlhoff was appointed Conservator of Forests. This gentleman was, according to Major General Fraser, "a highly respectable and well educated young man, of the most hardy and active habits, and in every way suited for the discharge of the duty in question". He divided the forests into seven

Organisation
of the depart-
ment.

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districts, each of which was placed in the charge of a *Vicharippukaran*, or manager, assisted by a staff of accountants, guards and watchmen. While the monopoly trees continued to be worked departmentally, the permit system was introduced for the working of all other trees and the contract system for the removal of fire-wood and minor forest produce. The lines thus laid down by Mr. Kohlhoff for the organisation and working of the department remained in force for over seventy years, and were superseded by the present system of administration only in 1899. It may also be observed here that Mr. Kohlhoff used to visit periodically every nook and corner of his charge, and was thus the first to realise the capabilities of the Cochin forests.

Departmental
system.

Teak, ebony and black-wood were the only woods that were removed by departmental agency. The wood-cutters employed by the *Vicharippukarans* felled the trees pointed out to them by the hill-men, and they then barked, dressed and logged them. The logs were then dragged by Sirkar or hired elephants to some open grounds, where they were carefully fire-protected and left to season for about nine months, October to June. In June and July they were dragged to the river, rafted and floated to the depots, which they reached in August and September. A year generally elapsed between the cutting of the trees and their arrival at the depots. The *Vicharippukaran* was given not the actual felling, transport and other charges, but payment according to a scale prescribed with reference to the size of the logs and the distance over which they were dragged and floated. He was thus virtually a contractor, but a contractor who was unfettered by any restrictions and left to act according to his own discretion. As the *Vicharippukarans* were a set of low paid officers without even a smattering of the principles of forestry and as the sanctioned scale of charges (a little over two rupees per candy) was quite insufficient to meet the actual expenditure for felling the trees and transporting the logs to depots, this system of working was necessarily characterised by irregularities, corruption and damage to the forests.

Permit
system.

All trees other than the three mentioned above were extracted by private individuals on the permit system. Any one wanting timber had to send in his application to the Conservator with the prescribed *kuttikanam*, stamp or seigniorage fee, and he was given a permit signed by that officer allowing him to remove a certain number of trees from a specified locality. On production of the permit the *Vicharippukaran* allowed him to cut the tree

and remove them to the stamping station after cutting his name and permit number on the logs. The stamping officer of the station measured the logs and stamped them with the Sirkar mark, sent in an account of the measurements to the Conservator's office and issued a pass-port to the applicant. The latter could then remove the logs along the route prescribed in the pass-port, but had to show the pass-port at all the watch stations for the purpose of being checked. The Vichariippukaran exercised general control over the whole operation, and any Sirkar officer was competent to examine the timber in transit. Sufficient safeguards were thus provided to prevent fraud on the part of the permit holder, and if controlled by officers possessing honesty and professional knowledge, it was bound to work well. The seigniorage fees were prescribed for the first time in 1840, the rates being eight annas and four pies per *ayini* log and four annas and two pies per tree of any other kind without reference to the size of the trees; these rates were exactly trebled in 1854. In 1890, a candy fee was substituted for log fee, the rates varying from two rupees to eight annas according to the quality of the trees. Bamboos also were removed on the permit system, the procedure being the same as for timber, except that the stamping process was omitted. The rate of seigniorage fees for bamboos was two annas per hundred in 1840, which was raised to two annas and a half in 1854 and a rupee and a quarter in 1890.

The right of collecting dry fire-wood in each of the seven districts was sold by auction every year. The contractors themselves did not remove the fire-wood, but issued permits to professional fire-wood gatherers, who had to pay a prescribed scale of fees to the former. Since 1880 head-loads of fire-wood were allowed to be taken free of any charge, and cart-loads alone required the contractor's permit. Considering the extent of the forests from which fire-wood could be easily removed, the income from this source was a trifle, being on an average less than Rs. 2,000 per annum. The collection of minor forest produce also was similarly sold by auction every year, the chief items being honey, wax, ginger, damruer and pepper, and latterly also nux vomica. Among such produce cardamom alone was collected by departmental agency, but almost invariably at a loss to the Sirkar.

Contract
system.

Whatever might be the merits of the above system, it had not had a fair trial, inasmuch as it was worked by low paid and uneducated subordinates, to whom all the ideas of forest conservancy were as foreign as those of official honesty.

Degradation
of the forests.

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TRATION.

The work of timber extraction was carried out at times in a very indiscriminate and reckless manner by the officers of the department as well as by permit holders, and consequently in the course of years most of the accessible forests became greatly denuded of exploitable trees. Thefts of timber across the frontier were carried on to a great extent unchecked; the subordinate forest staff entertained for each district was quite inadequate to check it effectively even if it had the inclination to do so. The forests were also exposed to continuous degradation from cultivators of fugitive crops, gleaners of fire-wood and searchers for leaf manure. Nowhere however was the work of denudation carried out so extensively as in the teak forests of Chittur. After the construction of the irrigation works in that Taluk, almost the whole of the teak area was assigned for cultivation between the years 1855 and 1875, and the removal of the teak trees standing thereon was given on contract to merchants from Paighat, who made large fortunes at the expense of the Darbar. The Forest department however was not responsible for the alienation of these teak areas, as they were under the charge of the Land Revenue department till 1897. The economic importance of forest conservancy was not realised by our predecessors; to them the only object of paramount importance was the extension of cultivation. In 1903, however, over 3,000 acres of assigned area of the *kanam* was acquired by the Darbar, and constituted into a teak reserve. This area is already well stocked with teak by natural regeneration, and the growth of the young trees is vigorous and rapid.

Plantations.

In 1873, when the alienation of the Chittur teak forests was nearing completion, a systematic attempt was first made to open teak plantations. While on the one hand natural teak lands were being alienated, it was on the other hand decided to plant up teak in the Palapilli forest by the side of the Parakadavu river. The planting thus commenced in 1873 was continued every year till 1891, by which year about 825 acres had been planted up, the approximate number of plants being eight lakhs. A correct statement of the receipts and expenditure on account of the plantations and the details of operations are not available. The expenditure incurred during the first twenty-five years was nearly one hundred and twenty thousand rupees, of which as much as fifty thousand were spent on weeding and pruning. Thinnings were not systematically carried out in the past, and no working plans have yet been drawn up. The plantation has however been protected from fire throughout

more or less successfully. The teak in this area, though pure, is not of very satisfactory growth, the soil not being particularly suited to that species.

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Since 1891, no attempt has been made to extend these plantations or, till recently, to plant up teak in any other locality. In 1893 the then Conservator Mr. J. C. Kohlhoff, with a view to open a sandalwood plantation, got down seeds from Mysore and formed nurseries at Kodasseri. The seeds germinated, and the plants had a healthy look, but as Diwan Subrahmanya Pillai was averse to spending money on such experiments, the scheme had to be given up. A small teak plantation was started in Chettikulam in Kodasseri village in 1907, and a similar sandalwood plantation in Palapilli two years later. They are both in their experimental stage.

The capture of elephants in pitfalls had been practised in Cochin from time immemorial. All elephants so caught were the property of the sovereign, but in the case of the elephants caught from the forests which in the old days belonged to the chiefs, the latter were entitled to a third of their value. Till the last few years, considerable pains used to be taken to ensure the capture of as many elephants as possible every year, and on an average about six or seven elephants used to be captured annually. In 1890, the Conservator tried the Keddah system of catching elephants, and succeeded in capturing a herd of seven elephants at a comparatively small cost. Notwithstanding the obvious advantage of the system, the attempt was never again repeated for some explained reasons. Elephants are becoming very scarce in these days in the Cochin forests, as the construction and working of the Forest Tramway have driven large numbers of them beyond the Cochin frontier. There are now 20 elephants in charge of the Forest department, of which 8 belong to the Sirkar and 12 to Devasvams. The latter are however maintained and used by the Forest department. During the last four years, seventeen elephants were captured, of which eight escaped or died soon after capture.

Elephants.

So long as the Forest department brought in a considerable net revenue, the Darbar did not think of taking any serious steps to place the administration on a more satisfactory footing. It was only when that revenue began to fail that the necessity of seriously looking into matters forced itself on the attention of the authorities. In 1065 M. E. (1890-91), the net income fell to Rs. 10,895, and in the next year to Rs. 2,029, while in

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1067 the department worked at a loss of Rs. 21,975. In September 1893 therefore the Diwan, at the instance of the British Resident, called upon the Conservator for a full report on the department with suggestions for its improved working. The report which was accordingly submitted by the Conservator Mr. J. C. Kohlhoff contained many useful suggestions, but it left the old method of working substantially unaffected. This report formed the subject of protracted correspondence between the Diwan and the Resident, which resulted in the Darbar obtaining early in 1897 the loan of the services of an experienced forest officer from the Madras Government to inspect the State forests and formulate proposals for their better and more profitable administration. The elaborate report submitted by that officer included the recommendation that the services of a trained and experienced forest officer should be obtained to carry out his suggestions, and acting upon this recommendation the Darbar obtained from the Madras Government the loan of the services of one of their forest officers, Mr. V. Alvar Chetty, for a period of seven years. His advent in April 1899 marks the beginning of the present system of forest administration. The improvements made since will be briefly summarised below.

Reorganisa-
tion of the
department.

The department had always been under-manned, and the staff ill paid and inefficient. The first step taken therefore to improve the administration was the improvement and strengthening of the *personnel* of the department. The old low paid and unqualified subordinates were gradually got rid of and were replaced by well paid men who were trained in the Forest school at Dehra Dun or Poona. Both the field and the office sections of the department underwent a series of reorganisations, so that at present the Conservator is assisted by two highly qualified assistants, of whom one is the Depot Superintendent and Working Plan Officer. Most of the ranges into which the forests are divided are in the charge of fairly qualified Rangers, and the sub-ranges, depots, etc., are in the charge of sixteen Foresters. The Rangers and Foresters have under them a staff of over sixty guards. The forest staff now is thus on the whole sufficiently strong both in numbers and qualifications to deal efficiently with the administration of the forests in all its branches. The cost of the Forest establishment was only Rs. 15,817 in 1073, while it was Rs. 42,680 during the last year, or nearly three times what it was before Mr. Alvar Chetty's time.

New system
of working
the forests.

Unregulated fellings by permit holders under the *kuttika-nam* system, as well as the fellings of monopoly trees under the

old system of departmental working were gradually put a stop to. The fellings were confined to trees marked by the superior officers of the department, and the work was given on contract to the lowest bidders. The logs so removed fetched to the department three or four times the income that they fetched under the *kuttikanam* system. In the forests which had already been very much worked, only dead, unsound, hide-bound, stunted and otherwise badly grown trees were felled under the system of improvement fellings, and from selected coupes large quantities of fuel were extracted under the system of coppice with standards. By these means the department, which had lately been bringing in hardly any income, began to earn a net income of about two lakhs of rupees annually. The demarcation of the forest area was taken in hand, and with a view to ensure continuity of action by the officers of the department and also to provide against the deterioration and for the improvement of capital or the total producing stock, steps were taken for the preparation of regular working plans. These were the principles that Mr. Alvar Chetty had in view, but for one reason or another he was not able to give full effect to them. The accessible forests, for instance, were not given that rest that they required, but continued to be worked almost throughout his time. Nor were working plans prepared completely for any of the forests. It was only since 1907 that real rest was given to the overworked forests, and the preparation of working plans seriously taken in hand. All the forests have been completely reconnoitered during the last four years, and working plans have been prepared for nearly the whole forest area.

The administration of the forests had hitherto been considerably hampered for want of a special law to strengthen the hands of the officers of the department. Under none of the existing laws could the Darbar reserve any of the forests and thereby prevent indiscriminate clearing for fugitive cultivation and regulate felling, manure-gathering, shooting, etc. Regulation III of 1080 was accordingly enacted in 1905 on the lines of the Madras Act V of 1882. Almost all the forest area was reserved under that Regulation and several sets of rules were framed under it to protect the interests of the Sirkar in the forests. These rules regulate among other things the demarcation and settlement of forest areas, the protection of reserved and unreserved areas, the felling and removal of monopoly trees, the transport and floating of timber, and hunting, shooting and fishing, etc., in the reserved forests. The rules also concede valuable privileges

Forest
crimes and
forest laws.

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to the ryots such as the free grazing of cattle except goats and elephants, free removal of head-loads of dry fuel and other produce for domestic and agricultural purposes, etc. Timber thefts had been very rife especially in the Machad and Paravattani forests by gangs of men from British Malabar, whose action was more or less connived at by the subordinate officers of the department. With the strengthened staff of forest guards and with the help of a special police force, the department succeeded in effectively putting down these thefts after several encounters with these gangs of thieves, in one of which at least armed resistance had to be overcome.

Forest set-
tlement.

Before the forests were notified as reserved under the Regulation, the intention of the Darbar to do so was notified in the Gazette, as required by that Regulation, and a special Forest Settlement Officer was appointed to inquire into and determine all claims connected with the land comprised within the blocks proposed to be reserved. He commenced his work in the latter half of 1908 and completed it within a year. The claims of the land-holders concerned were fully considered, and in preparing notifications for finally reserving the areas, particular care was taken to exclude occupied and cultivated lands as far as possible without prejudice to the policy of reservation, and also to allow sufficient margin in the main blocks for the ryots to take manure and to fell timber for agricultural implements. All public rights and privileges over canals, cart tracks and foot paths in the reserved areas were also admitted. The settlement was thus carried out without any hardship to the ryots, and the most satisfactory feature of the work was that the Government had not to acquire any land to extinguish private right.

FOREST
TRAMWAY.
—
Its origin.

There were over 200 square miles of virgin forests in the State, containing valuable timber trees, which had never before been exploited for want of suitable outlets for their prospective output. Before giving the long needed rest to the accessible forests, it was considered necessary to make an attempt to exploit the virgin forests with a view to ensure a steady income from the forests. Accordingly, as early as 1894, Mr. Kohlhoff suggested the construction of "a wooden tramway from Orukomban to Anapandan, a distance of twelve miles", which would tap a considerable portion of the hitherto unworked forests, but this suggestion was not acted upon. In 1900 Mr. Alvar Chetty set about securing an outlet for these forests, and recommended the appointment of a Special Forest Engineer to survey the Chalakudi

river with a view to ascertain the practicability of utilizing it to float down timber from the interior. The Engineer, who was appointed accordingly, found on inspection that the higher reaches of the river were so full of obstructions that the cost of training it for this purpose would be prohibitive, while in any case the river could be used for the transport of timber for only about four months in the year. On the other hand, the inspection disclosed the fact that a land route, if provided with a suitable means of transportation, would tap a larger and richer forest area and that it could also be utilized all the year round. It was accordingly decided to construct a tramway in three sections, the first section covering a distance of eight miles in the Parambikolam valley, followed by a self-acting inclined tramway, 5,000 feet long, the second section, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, followed by a timber slide, 7,000 feet long, and the third section, also $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, extending to the Kurumali river, from which point timber could be floated to the railway station at Trichur during the rainy season and carted to the Chalakudi station in the dry months.

The construction of this tramway was commenced in 1901, and when some progress was made in it, it was found necessary to revise and enlarge the scheme considerably. According to the original scheme, timber from the hitherto unworked Parambikolam forest was to have been floated by the Parambikolam river to the tramway terminus in the valley, but the experience gained during 1902-3 having shown conclusively that that river could not be relied upon to carry every year anything like a year's full yield of timber, it was decided to extend the line to Parambikolam, a distance of $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles. It was further found that the proposed combined river and road transport from Kurumali would not clear the accumulations of timber, and another extension of the tramway therefore, one of fifteen miles to Chalakudi, to meet the State Railway at that station, was decided upon, a connection being made between the railway and the tramway there with the acquiescence of the Madras Railway authorities. According to the original scheme again, the traction of the timber truck was to have been by manual labour, but when the extension of the line to Parambikolam was decided upon, it was recognised that manual labour would prove both too expensive and too laborious, and the Darbar therefore sanctioned the substitution of locomotive engine traction. The timber slide was found in practical working to be unsatisfactory, especially in the case of long and heavy logs, and the handling of logs at the head and the foot of the

Develop-
ment of the
scheme.

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slide proved expensive. To remedy this the conversion of the slide into another self-acting incline was finally decided upon. The work was completed in a little over five years, and the tramway was in full working order in 1907. As a tramway of this magnitude and the self-acting inclines are unique of their kind in India, they merit a somewhat detailed description.

Description
of the
tramway.

The tramway thus constructed is $49\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, excluding the length of sidings or sections of double line, the total length including these being 56 miles. The gauge is metre, the average gradient of the line being one in 80 and the maximum gradient one in 2.5, which latter occurs on the third of the five inclines. From Chalakudi up to the ninth mile the line runs through fairly level country. Between nine and ten miles there are two reversing stations, whence the line runs along the Muppili valley as far as the nineteenth mile, after which there are four reversing stations leading up to the foot of the first incline. The line then rises by three successive inclines, and crosses the Pandimudi ridge at an elevation of over about 2,000 feet above the sea-level. The line then descends by twelve reversing stations to the twenty-fifth mile and thence along a slightly rising gradient for a mile and a half. From this point it rises by means of two inclines to Komalapara, about 2,500 feet above the sea-level. It then descends by five reversing stations to Miladappan and again by three more to the thirty-second mile, after which it runs along the Karapara river valley as far as the thirty-sixth mile, crosses the Kuriyarkutti river at 41 miles and continues along the Parambikolam river up to the terminus, which is about 2,700 feet above the sea-level. The second section of the line, 22 to 27 miles, runs along a deep valley bounded on either side by lofty ridges, which it crosses by means of the reversing stations and two of the inclines already alluded to.

Incline ways.

The incline ways are so constructed as to be self-acting, and three of them are situated in series between 21 and 23 miles and the other two between $26\frac{1}{2}$ and 29 miles. They are worked by means of wire cables controlled from brake houses by gear brakes independent of each other and consisting of horizontal wheels around which the cables pass two or three times. The inclines are double-railed with suitable cross-over points at the uphill side of each brake house. The points are so arranged that a descending load, which travels down by force of gravity, requires no uphill shunting—practically, the locomotive places the truck which, on being uncoupled, is

ready for the descent. The ropes are flexible and are of one and one-eighth inch plough steel wire. The cable passes over a grooved pulley six feet diameter, after which it forms a figure of 8 over a loose pulley, back again over another six feet pulley mounted on the same shaft as the first and thence to the other line. On the vertical shaft on which these two pulleys are and on which the rope winds, are mounted two horizontal six feet drum pulleys. Steel hand brakes 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick and three inches broad, studded with hard wood brake blocks, six inches long, can be applied to these drums by powerful linked levers controlled by hand wheels and screws to regulate the speed of the load descending the incline. The first, second and fourth of the five incline ways are on curves, and round these the wire ropes are guided by vertical rollers. On the straight portion of the inclines the cable is supported by horizontal rollers placed 30 feet apart.

The rolling stock of the Forest Tramway consists only of open bogie trucks, specially designed for carrying timber with swivelled bolsters and chilled cast iron wheels, each bogie having a carrying capacity of 12 tons. The locomotives are generally of one type, and are designed to pull or push a gross load of 30 tons on a gradient of one in fifty, or 18 tons on a gradient of one in twenty-five. They are built for an ordinary working boiler pressure of 205 lb. per square inch. The present strength of the rolling stock is eight engines and 70 pairs of trucks.

Rolling
stock.

The Tramway Engineer is in charge of the administration of the department in all its branches—engineering, locomotive, traffic, stores and accounts. He has the necessary staff of subordinates in each branch. Though the tramway is primarily intended to serve the Forest department, the department works independently of the Conservator of Forests. Loading timber in the trucks at the several stations is done under the direction and supervision of the Forest department.

Tramway
administra-
tion.

The total capital expenditure on account of the tramway up to the end of the last official year (15th August 1910) amounted to 18·47 lakhs of rupees, and, including maintenance, to 24·17 lakhs. Besides large quantities of Sirkar timber, the tramway transports fuel, canes, reeds and sleepers extracted by departmental contractors. Private traffic is also allowed when it does not interfere with departmental work. During the three years ending with August 1910, the tramway transported 83,500 candies (over a million cubic feet) of timber, valued at

Financial.

CHAP. V. nearly seventeen and a half lakhs of rupees, which, but for this
FOREST means of transport, would have run to decay and waste. The
TRAMWAY. average annual maintenance charges of the line amount to a
— — — little over a lakh of rupees, and the average earning calculated
at specified rates for the transport of timber and other articles
amount to over two lakhs of rupees a year.

The area of virgin forests tapped by the tramway is about 125 square miles. The question of re-stocking the coupes worked for the tramway with a view to ensure a continuous supply of timber is engaging the attention of the Darbar.



CHAPTER VI.

OCCUPATIONS AND TRADE.

OCCUPATIONS: Their distribution—Industrial occupations—Professional classes—INDUSTRIES: Weaving—Development of weaving industry—Cocoanut fibre industry—Grass mats—Coarse mats and baskets—Cocoanut oil—Other oils—Toddy drawing—Arecanut preparation—Timber trade—Bricks and tiles—Rice mills—Artisans—Bell-metal—TRADE: Sea-borne trade—Exports—Imports—Inland trade—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES: Weights—Measures of capacity—Measures of length, etc.

IN Cochin as in other parts of India, agriculture is the predominant occupation of the people as well as their chief means of livelihood, but it does not exhaust the resources of the State to the same extent as it does elsewhere. While in the Madras Presidency generally over 70 per cent. of the population are supported by agriculture and less than 18 per cent. by industrial occupations, in Cochin agriculture supports only 51 per cent., and industries as much as 31 per cent., of the total population. Even in the neighbouring State of Travancore and the neighbouring District of Malabar, where the conditions are similar to those of Cochin, the proportions of population maintained by agriculture are 60 and 62 per cent., and by industrial occupations 25 and 24 per cent. respectively. This comparative preponderance of industrial population in Cochin is due not to the infertility of the soil or its unsuitability to agriculture, but to certain natural advantages possessed by the State, which have diverted a larger proportion of people than elsewhere in Southern India from agriculture to industrial occupations. The influence and example of the small but enterprising colony of Bombay people who have made Cochin their adopted country have also contributed to this result in a large measure. Of the total number of males and females in the State, 47 and 39 per cent. respectively work for their living, the rest being supported by the working population, while in the Presidency as a whole, the percentage of male and female workers are 54 and 42 respectively. In Cochin therefore a larger proportion of the young and the old can afford to eat the bread of idleness than elsewhere in Southern India.

OCCUPA-
TIONS.

Their distri-
bution.

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OCCUPA-
TIONS.

Industrial
occupations.

Among the natural advantages referred to above are the existence of a large extent of back-waters and canals and of valuable forest tracts, and the facilities for the cultivation of the cocoanut palm. The back-waters and canals, as also the sea that washes the Cochin coast, teem with fish life, and provide occupation to a large number of fishermen, fish curers and dealers, and boat and barge-men, and maintain over 30,000 souls. Similarly, the forests that cover the eastern half of the State provide employment to numbers of wood-cutters, sawyers, carpenters and collectors of forest produce, and afford a means of livelihood to nearly 27,000 persons. More important and more extensive still are the industries connected with the raw products of the cocoanut tree—toddy drawing, jaggery making, arrack distilling, oil pressing, coir making, etc. Nearly 50,000 men and women are engaged in these industries, which afford a means of subsistence to over a tenth of the population of the State. Cochin does not produce sufficient food grains for the consumption of its population, but the manufactured products of the cocoanut tree more than pay for the grains imported year by year. All the other industries put together maintain only 45 per cent. of the industrial population.

Professional
classes.

Agriculture, the most extensive and important of occupations, has already been dealt with in a previous chapter, and it only remains to deal here with the more important of the industries pursued in this State. The professional classes do not merit any special notice. They form but three per cent. of the population, and of these nearly one-half are priests and temple servants. As a peculiar feature of Malabar life, however, it may be mentioned that 188 male and 52 female workers (with 278 dependents) have returned sorcery and witchcraft as their occupation.

INDUSTRIES.

Weaving.

Cotton weaving is the only textile industry pursued in Cochin, and it is carried on mainly by hereditary weavers—Chaliyans, Kaikolans and Chetans—who are found in all the Taluks except Trichur. About 2,400 men and 1,600 women are engaged in it. All these weavers use the country pit-looms: not one of them employs looms with fly-shuttle attachments. The Chaliyans and Kaikolans practise only coarse weaving, and do not use any counts of yarn above twenty. The coarse and narrow cloths and towels made by them are much in demand among the poorer classes, and consequently they find a ready sale in the local markets. The Chetans of Kuttampilli and Chittur use yarns of counts up to 100's, and even higher when there is

demand for the same, and make fine cloths (generally 60 to 100 counts) with laced or coloured border. These cloths, called *pavu mundus*, are the fashionable attire of the Malayalis, and consequently there is considerable demand for them in Cochin and Malabar. The Chetans of the other villages also make similar cloths, but they seldom use higher counts of yarn than 60's. The condition of the weaving classes, except that of the Chetans, has considerably deteriorated during recent years. They are hard hit by the machine-made goods imported from England and Bombay, but they still struggle on with their primitive looms. A man, a woman and a boy can between them earn only four to six annas a day, which is less than the wages of common earth-workers or agricultural labourers. Notwithstanding their rooted conservatism, therefore, some of them have altogether abandoned their hereditary occupation and taken to agriculture, while others try to eke out a livelihood by combining with it other occupations, such as vending groceries, husking paddy, etc. The Chetans on the other hand have distinctly improved their position in recent years. There are some well-to-do men among them, who have taken to financing the industry. Almost all the fine cloths with laced or coloured borders required for local use used to be imported from Tinnevely, but since the last 20 or 25 years the well-to-do classes in Cochin began to go in for the cloths made by the Chetans of Kuttampilli and Chittur. This preference has given a great impetus to the local industry, and it has gone on to such an extent that at the present moment Tinnevely cloths have all but disappeared from the Cochin market. A Chetan weaver earns more than double the wages of a Chaliyan or Kaikolan.

The weaving industry has of late begun to make progress, though the progress is exceedingly slow. The hereditary weavers still adhere to their primitive looms, but others, who have no inherited prejudices of this kind, are taking to this industry, using fly-shuttle looms in preference to the ordinary country ones and adopting improved methods of warping and sizing. Small weaving factories are also coming into existence, among which may be mentioned the one opened at Chittur last year with about forty looms for making fine clothes, and the check-weaving factory at Trichur started two years earlier. A still more important concern is the Pushpagiri Weaving Factory started at Trichur three years ago. It has proved financially so successful that it was taken up last year by a Limited Liability Company with a capital of 1·2 lakhs of rupees with a view to

Development
of weaving
industry.

CHAP. VI. INDUSTRIES. develop it into a power loom weaving mill. The necessary additional buildings have been constructed, and the engines and plants are being set up. This mill is expected to be in regular working order in a few months. The State has granted to this Company a loan of Rs. 20,000 to enable it to meet the initial outlay on account of the additional plant.

Cocoanut fibre industry. The manufacture of yarns, ropes, rugs and mattings out of cocoanut fibre is one of the most important industries of that part of Cochin which adjoins the sea and the back-water. It is an expanding industry, 74 lakhs of rupees worth of coir in various forms having been exported from the Cochin port in 1908-9, against 36 lakhs worth in 1896-7. Nearly 8,000 men and 20,000 women are engaged in this occupation, more women being employed in it than in any other except agriculture. The majority of workers engaged in this industry are Izhuvans, while the rest are native Christians, Valans and Kanakkans. The extraction of fibre and the preparation of the yarn are tedious operations involving much patient labour. A large proportion of the fibre is hand-twisted into yarn by the extractors themselves, and the yarn is sold to native merchants at Mattancheri, who in their turn deal with European firms. The rest of the fibre is sold to native merchants who get it converted into yarn in their factories by means of a simple machine called *rattu* or wheel. The greater part of the coir manufactured here is exported in the form of yarn to all parts of the world, chiefly to the United Kingdom and Germany, while the rest is converted into ropes, rugs and mattings in Ernakulam, Mattancheri and British Cochin. Ropes of all sizes are spun by a simple machine worked by hand, and rugs and mattings of different textures, plain and coloured, are woven on hand looms, but in one factory in Mattancheri, the only large one of its kind, power machinery is employed for spinning ropes and shearing rugs, and steam for dyeing the yarn. This factory turns out on an average 20,000 rugs and 50,000 yards of matting a year, the matting being of the uniform breadth of one yard.

Grass mats. Excellent grass mats are made by Koravans or Kakkalans in the Talapilli and Trichur Taluks, but the industry is not in a thriving condition, only 30 or 40 men and women being now engaged in it. The sedge (*Cyperus corymbosus*) of which the mats are made grows wild on the banks of rivers and lakes, and does not cost anything to the weavers. Each blade is split into four, and the splits, after the pith is carefully removed, are dried in the sun, then steeped in water and again dried for a day, after

which they are boiled in water with dyes of the required quality. The mat is woven in looms similar to the cottage looms, hemp yarn being used as warps and the dyed splits as wefts. The mats are woven in various sizes and coloured in different patterns. They can be made of any length, but as the blades of grass seldom grow longer than three to four feet, they cannot generally be made to exceed a yard in width. The price of the mats varies according to their size and quality, the finer ones costing ten to twenty-five rupees and the coarse ones one to three rupees. These mats are much admired wherever they are seen : this industry is therefore capable of considerable development, if it is financed by small capitalists in a business-like manner.

Coarse mats and baskets are made of bamboos and screw-pine leaves (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) in large numbers in all parts of the State except the sea-board tracts. They are made by hand without any machine being employed, and are sold very cheap and used extensively. The bamboo mats and baskets are made mostly by Cheramans, Parayans and Vettuvans, and the screw-pine ones by Izhuva and Kammala women. About 1,700 men and 4,700 women are engaged in this industry. Cheapness and utility are the merits of these mats and baskets, not finish or design.

Coarse mats
and baskets.

The extraction of cocoanut oil takes the first place among the industries of Cochin. The value of the oil exported from the British port of Cochin, of which at least one-half is the produce of the State, rose from 41.4 lakhs of rupees in 1896-7 to 101.4 lakhs in 1908-9, and *poonac* or oil-cake, which began to be exported for the first time in 1903-4, was exported to the value of 12.6 lakhs of rupees in 1908-9. About 12 lakhs worth of oil was also exported by train in 1909. Besides these, *copra*, the dried kernel of the cocoanut from which the oil is extracted, is also exported in large quantities. There are now ten power mills at work for the extraction of cocoanut oil, all in the Cochin-Kanayannur Taluk. They employ about 550 men daily and turn out over 13,000 tons of oil annually. This industry had been steadily expanding till about four years ago, when it received a check owing to the protective duty imposed on *copra* by the Travancore Government and to the increased export of *copra* to Europe. The mill owners now find it impossible to procure sufficient *copra* to turn out the full quantity of oil that the mills are capable of extracting. The output of cocoanut oil in 1903 from seven mills, the number of mills then in existence, was approximately 16,000 tons, while the ten mills now in existence

CHAP. VI. turned out only 13,600 tons last year, and will in all probability
INDUSTRIES turn out less during the current year.

Other oils.

Oils are also extracted from lemon grass, gingelly, castor and ground-nut, but only to a very limited extent. Lemon grass grows wild in the forests of the State, and the oil is extracted from it, mainly in Mattancheri and its neighbourhood, by a process of distillation. The whole produce is exported to Europe, no use being made of it locally. The other oils are much in demand for lighting purposes, while gingelly oil is also used largely for the oil bath, so much affected by the Malayalis. They are extracted by Chakkans or Vaniyans by means of bullock-driven *chaks* or mills of a primitive pattern. The outturn however is insufficient even for local consumption, and thousands of maunds of these oils are annually imported from Coimbatore and Salem.

Toddy drawing.

Toddy drawing is an extensive industry in Cochin, which, together with toddy selling, gives employment to fifteen thousand men and women and maintains about thirty-two thousand souls. The cocoanut is the tree commonly tapped for toddy, except in the Chittur Taluk, where the palmyra takes its place. The methods employed are the same as those made use of elsewhere and need no description here. The trees are fit for tapping when they come to full bearing, but they are seldom tapped for more than six months in the year. Tapping is said to shorten the life of the tree, but it improves the yield of the nuts during rest of the year. The yield varies with the quality of the tree and the season of the year, the daily average being a bottle per tree in the hot months and about three bottles in the monsoon and the succeeding months. Jaggery is made out of sweet toddy, which is drawn in the same manner as the ordinary toddy, but fermentation is prevented by coating the pots slightly with lime. Arrack is distilled in a number of distilleries in the southern, and in a central distillery in the northern, Taluks.

Arecanut preparation.

Arecanut preparation is an industry of some importance. In the Taluks of Talapilli, Trichur and Mukundapuram, hundreds of men and women are engaged in it from September to January. The nuts are plucked when they are not quite ripe, and after removing the outer covering the soft kernel is cut into six to ten pieces according to their size. The pieces are boiled in water for about an hour, and then taken out and exposed to the sun to dry. When boiling, the nuts precipitate an astringent juice which makes the water blood red. The

mixture is further boiled till it thickens somewhat, and when the nuts are half dried, they are again put into the vessel, containing the thickened fluid and well stirred till they absorbed it. When dried in the sun again, they are fit for use with lime and betel leaf to form the well known masticatory of the east. The whole produce, whether raw or prepared, is used for this purpose, except for the very limited use made of it in medicine as an astringent to stop bleeding and as a vermifuge for dogs. The major portion of the prepared nuts are exported to the Tamil and Telugu districts, where there is considerable demand for it. The quantity of prepared arecanut carried by the Cochin State Railway in 1909 (a bad year for the areca crop), whether from one station to another or for export beyond the State, exceeded seventy thousand maunds, its approximate value being 12 lakhs of rupees.

The timber trade of Cochin is of considerable importance. Timber trade, From the valuable forests of the State are annually brought down on an average 26,000 candies* of teak, 2,000 candies of black-wood, 38,000 candies of jungle-wood, together with 10,000 tons of fire-wood and three lakhs of bamboos. Most of these are brought down to Trichur, which is the most important timber mart in Cochin, while the rest, together with a good portion of the produce of the Travancore forests, finds its way to Ernakulam. In Trichur there is a large steam saw mill with up-to-date plant and machinery owned by European capitalists, where teak logs are sawn and exported to foreign markets, London being the destination of the best squares. There are also about a score of timber yards in Trichur, where all species of jungle-wood, sawn and unsawn, are stocked for sale, mainly for local consumption. In the Gundoo Island, near Ernakulam, there is a smaller steam saw mill, the property of Messrs. Aspinwall and Co., where light woods are sawn for making tea chests. Excellent barrels and casks are made in large numbers in Mattancheri and its neighbourhood.

Bricks and tiles of the old Dutch pattern used to be manufactured by men of the potter caste in most of the inland villages. But there is not much demand for bricks except in Chittur, where they form the chief building material, and Dutch tiles have nearly gone out of fashion, and given place to patent tiles of the Mangalore pattern. A number of tile and brick factories have consequently sprung up to supply this demand in recent years. There are fourteen such factories in the neighbourhood of Trichur

Bricks and
tiles.

* A candy is equal to 12·7 c. ft. and weighs about 520 lb.

CHAP. VI. and two near Chittur, employing over 750 men, women and
INDUSTRIES, children daily, with wages ranging from five to two annas. Patent
kilns and presses are used in them all, but only two of them are
worked by steam power. The annual outturn is over two
millions roofing tiles, which is sufficient to meet not only the
local demand but also in part the demand in South Malabar
and North Travancore. The demand for bricks and flooring
tiles is not considerable : they are therefore not stocked but only
made to order. All these factories are financed exclusively by
native capitalists, who are mostly native Christians.

Rice mills. There are now three paddy husking mills in the State
worked by steam power, but they have not for various reasons
made any appreciable mark on the cottage industry. One mill is
worked as an adjunct to a cocoanut oil mill at Pallurutti, but
the operation is carried on but spasmodically. The second is
attached to the coir factory at Mattancheri already referred to,
and is worked in the same manner. The third one is in Trichur,
and is intended to work all the year round, but as it has been
established but recently, it is too early to hazard an opinion on
its prospects. Paddy husking therefore still remains a domestic
industry, and is carried out almost entirely by women during
the months when agricultural labour is slack.

Artisans. The artisan class consists of *Marasaris* (carpenters),
Kallasaris (masons), *Karurans* (blacksmiths), *Tattans* (gold
and silver-smiths), *Musaris* (braziers) and *Tollollans* (leather
workers). They all pursue their respective hereditary occupa-
tions, in which they are not disturbed by competition by other
classes. They are found in every village, the best workmen
being found mostly in towns. As their work does not differ
materially from that turned out elsewhere, they require little
notice here. The quality of their work has distinctly improved
in recent years, as has also their material condition. Within the
last half century their wages have risen about 300 per cent.,
while the cost of living has not increased more than 150 per cent.

Bell metal. The only craft of the artisan castes that deserves special
mention is the bell-metal work. The workers are Musaris, who,
though not so numerous as the other artisans, are found in most
parts of the State, their total number including women and
children being 900. In the Chittur Taluk some of the workmen
belong to the Kannan caste, immigrants from the Tamil country.
They make all kinds of bell-metal vessels from a tiny cup to a
caldron, 30 feet in diameter and weighing half a ton, and also
lamps, bells, etc., of various shapes and sizes. The metal is a

mixture of copper and lead, the usual proportion being 2 to 2½ parts of lead to ten of copper. If the proportion of lead is increased to three parts, the alloy will have a brighter appearance, but as it is liable to crack in casting, this proportion is resorted to only in exceptional cases in making small sized articles, and that only by very skilled workmen. The mould is made of beeswax with a core of clay and a thick covering of the same material. The wax runs out in the kiln through a hole in the covering of clay left for the purpose, and through the same hole the molten metal is poured into the mould. When taken out of the kiln and cooled in water, the article will be found to have raw edges and a rough surface: the former is then filed off, and the latter smoothed and polished in a lathe. The methods and implements employed by the workmen are old fashioned and somewhat primitive, notwithstanding which some of the articles turned out by them are distinctly good, both in design and finish. The best workmen are found in Chemmanamgalam, Cranganur, Trichur and Chittur.

Cochin has, for its size, a considerable sea-borne trade, but exact statistics are not available. Almost all the trade of the State passes through the British port of Cochin, the trade statistics of which however include also a great portion of the exports and imports of Malabar and Travancore. As these latter have also other ports, it is safe to estimate one-half of the value of the trade passing through British Cochin as representing the value of the trade of the Cochin State. The total value of exports in 1908-9 was 298·5 lakhs of rupees and of imports 239·3 lakhs: the balance of trade is thus very much in favour of exports.

TRADE.
Sea borne
trade.

The manufactured products of the cocoanut tree form about three-fourths of the exports from Cochin—cocoanut oil (101·4 lakhs), coir manufactured and unmanufactured (74·4 lakhs), copra (35·3 lakhs) and oil-cake (12·6 lakhs). The next most important articles of exports are tea and pepper, but they are almost wholly the produce of Travancore. Cocoanut oil is exported chiefly to the United Kingdom, America, Germany, Belgium, Burmah, Calcutta, and Bombay, coir to the United Kingdom, Germany and America, copra to Germany, France and Belgium and oil-cake to Germany and Bombay. Though the major portion of the produce is exported to these countries, Cochin may be said to have customers in all parts of the world.

Exports.

The chief articles of import are paddy and rice (144·5 lakhs), piece-goods (17·5 lakhs), petroleum and other oils (16·2 lakhs),

Imports.

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TRADE.

grains and pulses, other than paddy (9·8 lakhs), metals (8·5 lakhs), wood manufactures (5·8 lakhs), cotton twist and yarn (4·2 lakhs) and hardware and cutlery (3·5 lakhs). About 90 per cent. of the paddy and rice imported are from Burmah, the rest being from Bombay. Piece-goods are imported almost wholly from Bombay, oils chiefly from Burmah, America and Europe, metals from Europe and Bombay, wood manufactures from Bombay, Bengal and Europe, hardware and cutlery from Bombay and Europe.

Inland trade.

When compared with its sea-borne trade, the inland trade of Cochin is insignificant. The chief articles of export are cocoanut oil, timber, salt fish, prepared arecanut and paddy. The last is not the produce of Cochin, but that of Burmah re-exported from Cochin. These articles are exported mainly to the southern districts of the Madras Presidency, but a part of the salt fish goes to Burmah through Madras. The chief imports are rice and condiments.

WEIGHTS
AND MEASURES.

The weights and measures in use in Cochin are bewildering in their variety and complexity. Though the weights and measures are known by the same names in all parts of the State, their multiples and sub-multiples differ so widely in different parts that it is impossible to give here all their local variations. To give one or two examples by way of illustration, the liquid measure *chotana* is twelve *edangazhis* in Ernakulam, eight in Trichur and three in Cranganur, while of the grain measure *para* there are three well known standards, but each of these standards differs in different parts of the State. The want of a standard table of weights and measures had therefore long been felt by business men, and to remedy this evil a notification was issued by the Darbar in July 1908, prescribing uniform standards for the whole State. The State also provides for sale to the public standard weights and measures of all descriptions at all Taluk centres.

Weights.

A *rathal* is prescribed as the primary standard of weight, and is equivalent in weight to $42\frac{1}{2}$ British rupees. The following are its multiples and sub-multiples:—

For all articles other than gold, silver and precious stones and medicines.

6 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees weight	...	...	1 palam
6 $\frac{1}{2}$ palams or 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees weight	...	...	1 rathal (standard)
20 rathals	...	...	1 thulam
25 rathals	...	...	1 maund
20 maunds	...	...	1 candy

For medicines.

12 panamidas or fanams weight	...	1 kazhanchu
12½ kazhanchus or 5 rupees weight	...	1 palam
8½ palams	1 rathal (standard)

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WEIGHTS
AND MEASURES.

For gold, silver, etc.

3 nellidas (grains of paddy)	...	1 kunni
4 kunnis	... ..	1 panamida (fanam weight)
21 fanams weight	... ..	1 sovereign weight
31 fanams weight	... ..	1 rupee weight

The primary standard of measures of capacity is the *edangazhi*, which is certified to contain two rathals of raw rice in the case of dry measure and 44 ounces of water in the case of liquid measure.

Measures of capacity.

Dry measure.

2 ozhaks	... ..	1 uri
2 uris	... ..	1 nazhi
3 nazhis	... ..	1 padi
4 nazhis	... ..	1 edangazhi (standard)
4 padis or 3 edangazhis	... ..	1 vallam
10 edangazhis	... ..	1 para

Liquid measure.

4 tavis or todams	... ..	1 nazhi
4 nazhis	... ..	1 edangazhi (standard)
10 edangazhis	... ..	1 para
12 edangazhis	... ..	1 chotana
25 chotanas	... ..	1 candy

A yard equal in length to the standard yard of British India is the primary standard of measures of length. The following are the multiples and sub-multiples:—

Measures of length, etc.

Measures of length.

8 barley corns (in breadth)	...	1 angulam (1 ½ inches)
24 angulams or virals	... ..	1 carpenter's kole (2 ½ feet)
4 koles	... ..	1 dandu (9 ½ feet)
800 dandus	... ..	1 nazhika
2½ nazhikas	... ..	1 crossam or katham
4 crossams	... ..	1 yojana
9 inches	1 span (used in measuring cloth)
2 spans	1 cubit or muzham
2 muzhams	1 yard

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WEIGHTS
AND MEASURES.*Measures of surface.*

1 square dandu	1 perukkam ($\frac{1}{4}$ cent)
40 perukkams	...	...	1 para (8 cents)
500 perukkams or $12\frac{1}{2}$ paras...	...	...	1 acre

Measures of capacity.

24 cubit virals	...	...	1 perukkam
24 perukkams	...	...	1 thoovada
24 thoovadas or 1 cubic kole	...	...	1 candy (equal to $12\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet).

CHAPTER VII.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

WATERWAYS : Back-waters and rivers—Their development and present condition—Ferries—Boats—**ROADS :** Old highways—Road making—Existing roads and their maintenance—Avenues—Travellers' bungalows—Tolls—**STATE RAILWAY :** Early projects—Introduction of the railway—Working agreement.

ROADS suitable for wheeled traffic are of recent origin in Cochin, and before their construction inland traffic was carried on almost entirely by means of back-waters and rivers. The Taluks of Kanayannur-Cochin and Cranganur and portions of Mukundapuram and Trichur are admirably served by back-waters and rivers, and these contributed in no small measure to the early development of the country, affording as they did an easy and cheap means of conveying the produce of the interior to the ports of Cochin, Cranganur and Chetva. The main waterway is the one from the southern frontier of the State to Trichur, a distance of nearly 60 miles, while numerous branches, having an aggregate length of over 60 miles, run out to the interior, mainly towards the east. The Alwaye and Chalakudi rivers are navigable throughout the year for nearly 60 and 30 miles respectively, but in the Ponnani and Karuvannur rivers boats can ply only during the rainy season. These water communications enabled Cochin to enjoy the lion's share of the trade with the Portuguese and the Dutch on the Malabar coast for nearly three centuries.

**WATER-
WAYS.**

Back waters
and rivers.

The waterways were considerably improved during the administrations of Diwans Sankara Variyar and Sankunni Menon. By the construction of the canal from Tevara to Kundannur the former brought Tripunittura within easy distance of Ernakulam, and by deepening the Edattirutti canal and the construction of the Aranattukara canal, boat traffic between Trichur and South Cochin was rendered possible throughout the year. In Sankunni Menon's time a boat channel was made in the Trichur lake and the Chirakkal canal was constructed, which considerably shortened the length of the waterway to Trichur.

Their development and present condition.

CHAP. VII.
WATER-
WAYS.
—

He had also kept a steam dredger at work in the back-waters to maintain the waterways in good condition and to preserve their usefulness unimpaired. Since his time very little was done for the improvement of the waterways, and latterly, especially after the introduction of the railway, they have been much neglected, so much so that boats get stuck in many a shallow place during low tide. The railway has considerably discounted the importance and usefulness of the back-waters, but has by no means superceded them as a means of communication.*

Ferries.

Nearly a hundred ferries are maintained by the Darbar for the convenience of passengers who have to go across the back-waters and rivers. They are farmed to contractors, who are to use boats of the kind agreed upon and levy fees at prescribed rates. Passengers are ferried over in ordinary open canoes, but steam launches are used for the ferry between Ernakulam and Mattancheri. Carriages and cattle are taken over in *changadams*, or railed platforms placed on two dug-outs lashed together; these conveyances however are available only at the ferries connecting metalled roads. By mutual agreement some of the frontier ferries between Cochin and Malabar are managed by the Darbar and the rest by the District Board of Malabar, and a moiety of the receipts from the ferries managed by the former is paid to the latter and *vice versa*. The frontier ferries between Cochin and Travancore are similarly apportioned between the two States, but moieties of receipts are not exchanged. The receipts on account of ferries average about Rs. 20,000 a year.

Boats.

Several descriptions of boats are in use in the State. Well-to-do passengers travel in cabin boats, which are ordinarily from four to five feet broad and 25 to 40 feet long; a third of the length is taken up by the cabin in which the passengers are accommodated, and the rest is occupied by the oarsmen, 10 to 18 in number. There are smaller boats of a similar description propelled by four to eight oars, but their cabins are generally made of split bamboos covered with bamboo mats. Ordinary passengers use *vallams*, or boats the whole length of which is furnished with a convex bamboo roof covered with cadjan thatch. They contain sleeping accommodation for six to ten persons, and are propelled by punting. Cargo boats, or *kettu-vallams*, are of the same description, but are of much larger dimensions, some of them being sixty feet long, seven feet broad and eight feet deep. Snake boats are used only on State occasions as

* Since this was written, the navigable canals were brought under departmental control and maintenance under a regular system of annual expenditure.

escort boats : they are long and narrow, and are propelled by paddles, 20 to 60 in number, but have no room for passengers. Fishing boats are small dug-outs in which one or two persons paddle about in their piscatorial occupation. These are the types of the many varieties of boats that ply in the back-waters of Cochin. In recent years steam launches have come into fashion. Besides the launches that ply between Ernakulam and Mattancheri, there is now steam boat service between Cranganur and Cochin and also between Cochin and Quilon.

CHAP. VII.
ROADS.

Till the middle of the last century there were no roads in Cochin suitable for wheeled traffic or even for pack bullocks. We have seen from Ibn Batuta's description quoted elsewhere* how people travelled and goods were transported in the fourteenth century. The means of communication remained much the same till five centuries later. The old highways generally took the same course as the main roads of our own days, but they were like the road now known as the tapal road running parallel to the sea from Alleppey to Chetva *via* Cochin and Cranganur—unmetalled, with no bridges over rivers and streams and with no causeways across paddy flats. Tipu is said to have converted the road from Pazhayannur to Chalakudi *via* Mullurkara and Trichur into a cart-road for transporting his heavy field-pieces to attack the Travancore Lines. If so, it must have been altogether neglected since his time, as it had to be entirely re-constructed sixty years later to render it fit for cart traffic.

ROADS.
—
Old high-
ways.

Diwan Sankara Variyar was the pioneer of road making, as he was of most other good things, in Cochin. Most of the existing main roads with their bridges and culverts were constructed during his administration. They were all aligned with judgment and made fit for wheeled traffic, but in point of drainage and metalling, there was considerable room for improvement. These defects were remedied in a great measure, and several branch roads constructed, in Diwan Sankunni Menon's time, and by the time he retired from service, the country was covered with a net-work of roads in excellent condition. It was also in his time that some of the best bridges in the State were constructed, the most conspicuous of which was the magnificent Shoranur bridge built at a cost of over three lakhs of rupees in 1864-67.

Road making.

* Page 59, *ante*.

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ROADS.Existing
roads and
their main-
tenance.

There are at present 485 miles of roads under maintenance, of which 435 miles are metalled and the rest unmetalled. Except the sea-board tract where there are no metalled roads save in Mattancheri and Cranganur and their neighbourhood, almost all parts of the State are now served by good serviceable roads. A few more roads as feeders to the railway are no doubt desirable, but the outlay required for maintaining the existing roads in good condition stands in the way of further extension. Owing to the heavy rainfall and the undulating character of the country, the Cochin roads require unremitting attention, and they have generally received it at the hands of the Darbar, more especially during the last three or four years. The maintenance of roads has recently been placed in the charge of a special staff of officers, and a sum of over eighty thousand rupees is now annually sanctioned for maintenance and special repairs, the rates varying from Rs. 250 to Rs. 50 per mile according to the nature and importance of the roads. The condition of the roads therefore has of late made considerable improvement, and is now generally very satisfactory.

Avenues.

The planting of avenue trees for the benefit of travellers was to the Malayalis an act of charity inculcated by their religion: avenues therefore have always been a prominent feature of the west coast countries. In the fourteenth century Ibn Batuta found "the whole of the way by land lying under the shade of trees", and in the beginning of the last century Buchanan was struck by "the elegant avenues of Malabar". The planting of avenues by private individuals has however fallen into desuetude, and the work has devolved on Government. During the administrations of Diwans Nanjappayya and Sankara Variyar avenue planting was carried out vigorously and systematically, but since the time of the latter no systematic attempts were made for the preservation of avenues till the present Diwan took charge four years ago. The avenues were placed in charge of the land revenue department, and a special staff was created to look after them, whose duty it is to plant trees on roads having no avenues and fill up the gaps that are created from time to time. All the trees have been numbered and registered, and thousands of trees have been planted during the last three years, the Government agricultural farm supplying the seedlings. These arrangements have ensured the uninterrupted extension as well as preservation of avenue trees. Banyan, jack, mango, cashew, ungu and nuxvomica are the trees usually planted as avenues.

There are four travellers' bungalows and nine staff quarters in the State, all in the charge of the public works department. The former are open to all *bonâ fide* travellers who pay the prescribed fees, while the use of the latter is restricted to Sirkar officers, who also are required to pay a fee for their halts. The bungalows are provided with the necessary staff, furniture, utensils, crockery and linen, but the staff quarters are provided only with furniture and utensils.

CHAP. VII.
ROADS.
Travellers'
bungalows.

The practice of levying tolls on goods had been in existence here from time immemorial, but that of levying tolls on conveyances was unknown till about 1870, when, on the completion of the construction of the Shoranur bridge, a toll gate was opened on the Trichur-Shoranur road, and a few years later another was opened on the Trichur-Vaniyambara road. These were the only toll gates in the State for about thirty years, but within the last six years several new ones were established. Tolls are now levied at 28 stations, and the receipts from this source amount to Rs. 40,000 a year.

Tolls.

The question of introducing the railway into the State had been under the consideration of the Darbar ever since its extension to Malabar in 1861. Proposals were made from time to time by various capitalists to construct a branch line from Shoranur, terminating at Trichur, Karupadanna, Ernakulam or Vaipin, but all the projects proved abortive for one reason or another. In the earlier projects the State agreed to take shares to the extent of five to ten lakhs of rupees, and in one scheme, that of Messrs. Aspinwall & Co. of Cochin in the early eighties, Travancore and Cochin undertook to guarantee 1½ and 2 per cent. interest respectively on the capital outlay. The scheme was on the point of fruition when, doubts having been raised in influential quarters regarding the financial prospects of the scheme, the Madras Government released Travancore from the engagement made by it. After this, the subject still continued to be under correspondence, more or less fitful, but misgivings about the financial success of the undertaking stood in the way of the fulfilment of the project.

STATE
RAILWAYS.
Early projects.

The matter remained in this condition till Mr. Rajagopalachari assumed charge of the administration. He took up the question with his characteristic vigour in 1897, and prepared a scheme, in consultation with the Resident Mr. (now Sir Frederic) Nicholson, for the construction of a narrow gauge line from Shoranur to Ernakulam entirely at the cost of the Darbar. There was at the time a large reserve fund in the treasury,

Introduc-
tion of the
railway.

CHAP. VII.
STATE
RAILWAY.

the result of the economical administration of his predecessors,* and this enabled him to finance the undertaking with comparative ease. The scheme received the sanction of the Government of India early in 1899, and the construction of the line was started by the Madras Railway Company before the end of the same year. The construction of some of the major bridges presented considerable difficulty, and it took therefore nearly three years to complete the work. The line was opened for goods traffic on the 2nd June and for passenger traffic on the 16th July 1902. The length of the line is 65 miles, of which 18 run through Travancore territory. The capital expenditure on the railway, according to the original estimate, was only fifty lakhs of rupees, and according to the revised estimate, 58 lakhs, but the actual booked capital has eventually reached 70 lakhs. The net earnings had till 1908 averaged only 2 per cent. on the capital outlay. The smallness of the return was due not so much to the smallness of the traffic as to the conditions on which the line was worked for the first seven years.

Working
agreement.

The working of the line was entrusted from the beginning to the Madras Railway Company under an agreement, according to which the charge to be made by the Company was to bear the same ratio to the gross earnings of the line as that of the total revenue expenditure to the gross earnings of the Madras Railway system including the State line. After providing from the net earnings for the second contribution to the Madras Railway Provident Institution and for interest at the rate of 3 per cent. on the booked capital of the State Railway including land, the balance was to be considered as surplus profits and to be divided between the State and the Company in the proportion of four-fifths to the former and one-fifth to the latter. The gross earnings steadily expanded year by year, the coaching traffic having risen by 48 per cent. in five years and the goods traffic having more than doubled itself, but the net receipts to the Darbar showed a yearly decrease owing to the heavy revenue expenditure incurred on other sections of the Madras Railway. With the end of 1907 the term of the Company

* The reserve fund, when Mr. Rajagopalachari assumed charge, amounted to over 44 lakhs of rupees, to which the administration of Diwan

Sankara Variyar contributed...	... 10½ lakhs.
Venkata Rau	... 1½ do.
Sankunni Menon	... 16 do.
Govinda Menon	... 10 do.
Tiruvenkilachariar	... 2 do.
Subrahmanya Pillai	... 4 do.

expired, and the Darbar availed themselves of that opportunity to secure more favourable terms from its successor, the South Indian Railway Company. After protracted negotiations, a new working agreement was entered into with the Company, the terms of which are more favourable to the Darbar than those of the previous agreement. The following are the chief terms :—

1. In refund to the expenditure incurred by the Company in working the State Railway in any half year ending the 30th June or 31st December, the State shall pay to the Company on account of such half year : (a) all expenditure on account of renewals, as distinguished from maintenance expenditure, incurred on the State Railway ; (b) the State Railway share on the working expenses of the half year which will be arrived at by deducting, from the working expenses of the combined system, the expenditure incurred on the combined system on account of renewals as distinguished from maintenance, and dividing the balance between the Company and the State Railway in the proportion that the gross receipts of the State Railway bear to the gross receipts of the combined system in the half year ; (c) one per cent. of the net earnings of the State Railway on account of a second contribution to the Company's Provident Institution ; and (d) the sum payable on account of the interest on the cost of the Shoranur Junction Station.

2. Should the difference between the gross receipts of the State Railway and the payment for working to be made to the Company under the above clause exceed 2 per cent. of the booked capital expenditure to the State at the end of the half year, such excess amount over 2 per cent. of the booked capital expenditure including land shall be considered as surplus profits, and shall be divided between the State and the Company in the proportion of four-fifths to the former and one-fifth to the latter.

3. The Darbar reserve the right of terminating the agreement after one year's notice.

4. His Excellency the Governor of Madras is the arbitrator between the two parties in all matters of dispute.

Owing to these more favourable conditions of working, the net earnings amounted to 3·08 per cent. on the capital in 1908 and 3·8 per cent. in 1909.

CHAPTER VIII.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

GENERAL HEALTH : Endemic diseases—Epidemic diseases—Vaccination—Infirmitics—MEDICAL RELIEF : Indigenous—Introduction of European treatment—Medical institutions—Special institutions—Departmental supervision—SANITATION : Sanitary Boards—Department of Public Health—Municipalities—Vital statistics.

GENERAL HEALTH.

THE general health of the State is on the whole good. Owing however to the heavy rains of the south-west monsoon and the excessive humidity of the atmosphere, the climate is relaxing and debilitating, especially to Europeans and people of sedentary habits. The monsoon months are the most unhealthy part of the year, when diseases associated with damp and chill, such as rheumatism, bronchial affections, diarrhoea, dysentery and fever, are prevalent throughout the State. The lower hills and the eastern parts of the Chittur Taluk are feverish, especially during the dry months.

Endemic diseases.

The most noticeable of the endemic diseases is elephantiasis, or Cochin leg, as it is sometimes called. It prevails largely in the low-lying, water-logged, swampy tracts lying between the back-water and the sea and to a less extent along the eastern shores of the back-water, but it is hardly seen anywhere in the laterite tracts. In the majority of cases the legs are the only organs affected, but sometimes it extends to the hands and less often to the scrotum. No class of people is immune from its attack, but people of uncleanly habits are more exposed to it than others. Among other common diseases are leprosy, enteric fever, Malabar itch or ring-worm of the body, hydrocèle and worms.

Epidemic diseases.

Outbreaks of cholera in an epidemic form are not very frequent, and owing to the scattered habitations of the people they are seldom widespread. It is only when it attacks Brahman

and native Christian quarters, the only crowded localities in the State, that the epidemic assumes a severe form. Owing however to the preventive and remedial measures taken latterly by the medical and sanitary departments, its spread has been checked more or less effectively whenever it broke out in recent years. Small-pox on the hand used to visit the country more frequently and carry off a much larger number of victims than cholera. The people of the west coast dreaded small-pox as much as they disbelieved in vaccination, the combined result of which was that, whenever the disease broke out in an epidemic form, it decimated the population, as it did in the years 1848, 1861, 1874, and 1893. Vaccination has however made great progress in recent years, and consequently the outbreaks since 1893 have never been so widespread or so appallingly fatal as in previous years. Except for a few imported cases, plague has not made its appearance in Cochin, though the neighbouring Districts of Coimbatore and Malabar have been more than once infected. This immunity appears to have been due to a great extent to the precautionary measures taken by the Darbar ever since the first outbreak in Bombay, such as the establishment of pass-port stations and observation circles and the rigid enforcement of the rules and regulations relating to them.

Though vaccination was introduced into Cochin so early as 1802 and though six trained vaccinators were employed by the State since 1812, it made but little progress for over three quarters of a century. The people had not only no faith in vaccination, but dreaded it as much as the small-pox itself, and it was only when English education made some progress in the State that they began to realise the advantages of it. Even now, there are people who look upon the operation with fear and distrust, but on the whole its efficacy as a preventive measure is now generally recognised. In 1886, a department of vaccination was organised with a staff of fifteen vaccinators under a Superintendent, assisted by a Deputy Inspector of Vaccination. Since then, vaccination has made steady progress, the average number of successful operations performed during the last ten years being 23,600 per annum. A calf vaccine depot was established at Trichur in 1898 for the preparation of the lymph required for the department, but it was abolished in 1907. The lymph is now purchased from the King Institute at Guindy. The office of Vaccination Superintendent was abolished in 1908, and the vaccinators were placed under the orders of the Division Sanitary Inspectors.

CHAP. VIII.
GENERAL
HEALTH.

Infirmities.

The Census of 1901 returned 1,966 persons as afflicted, that is, of every 10,000 persons, 24 were insane, blind, deaf-mutes or lepers. The average is the same for Malabar, but it is only 13 for Travancore and 21 for the

Insane	197
Blind	886
Deaf-mutes	540
Lepers	334

Presidency. Leprosy is most prevalent in the area to which elephantiasis is confined, and the proportion of lepers is highest among Valans and Kanakkans, who are by occupation fishermen and boatmen. The distribution of the other infirmities presents no noticeable features.

MEDICAL
RELIEF.

Indigenous.

The west coast countries have always had a plentiful supply of indigenous medical practitioners. Medicine has, from time immemorial, been the hereditary occupation of certain well known Namburi families. All the members of these families had to and did devote their exclusive attention to the study, practice and teaching of the *Ayurvedic* science, and their numerous pupils of all castes carried the healing art to every town and village in the country. They were not skilled in surgery, but as physicians they enjoyed and still enjoy considerable reputation for their skill in curing diseases. The medicinal herbs which abound in the forests and the plains of this coast are largely used in their preparations, such as decoctions, mixtures, electuaries, confections, powders, pills and medicated ghees and oils. Animal substances and mineral preparations (*sindurams*) are also made of, though much less commonly. Notwithstanding the ever-increasing popularity of European medicine, the native practitioners are still very much in requisition, especially in rural parts and among the middle classes. The well-to-do people in towns generally resort to European treatment as they can afford to pay for it, while the poorer classes go to the nearest Sirkar hospital or dispensary where they are treated free. But the lower middle classes prefer indigenous treatment as much on account of their immense faith in it as on account of its inexpensiveness.

Introduction
of European
treatment.

The first attempt to introduce European medical treatment into Cochin was made by a missionary, Rev. J. Dawson, who opened a dispensary in Mattancheri in 1818. Though it received a monthly grant from the Sirkar, it did not prove a success, and was closed after a short existence of two or three years. In 1823, the Civil Surgeon of British Cochin was made *ex officio* Darbar Physician, and a dresser was attached to the jail at Ernakulam, while the Trichur jail was placed in the charge of the dresser attached to the British military detachment

stationed there. It was these three officers that first began to show to the people the advantages of European medicine and surgery. In 1848, Diwan Sankara Variyar opened the first Sirkar hospital, the Charity Hospital of Ernakulam, which has by successive stages developed into the present General Hospital, with its 48 beds, its out-patients' dispensaries, operation theatre, contagious ward, etc. For over a quarter of a century after this, no attempt was made to extend the operations of the department, but in 1875 a hospital was opened at Trichur. In the subsequent years, hospitals and dispensaries were opened in several stations so that the State is now liberally supplied with medical institutions.

There are at present 17 medical institutions—9 hospitals and 8 dispensaries—besides the hospital attached to the Central Jail. The names of the 17 institutions and the years in which

Ernakulam General Hospital	1848	they were founded are given
Trichur Hospital	... 1875	in the margin. There is thus
Chittur do.	... 1885	one medical institution to 83
Irinjalakuda do.	... 1888	square miles, the average for
Tripunittura do.	... 1888	Travancore being one to 129
Kunnamkulam do.	... 1888	square miles and that for
Mattancheri do.	... 1890	Malabar one to 223 square
Vadakancheri Dispensary	... 1891	miles. The Mattancheri
Nemmara Hospital	... 1892	hospital is one for women
Cranganur Dispensary	... 1893	and children, a separate dis-
Chalakudi Hospital	... 1893	pensary being maintained for
Nelliampati Dispensary	... 1898	male out-patients, while the
Tramway do.	... 1901	Ernakulam and Trichur hos-
Andikadavu do.	... 1907	pitals have separate dispen-
Narakal do.	... 1907	saries for women and children.
Pazhayannur do.	... 1908	The total number of beds
Mattancheri Male do.	... 1909	available is 271 (132 for males

and 139 for females), and the aggregate number of in- and out-patients treated during the last official year was 4,794 and 2,49,669 respectively. The staff of the department consists of a Chief Medical Officer, two Assistant Surgeons, six Apothecaries, fifteen Hospital Assistants, a Lady Doctor, a Lady Apothecary, two Lady Hospital Assistants and seventeen Midwives. The average expenditure on the department exceeds Rs. 80,000 per annum.

In 1892, a small lunatic asylum was opened at Trichur with accommodation for 14 patients, and was placed under the medical subordinate in charge of the local hospital. The establishment of a leper asylum and the segregation of lepers had been under contemplation since 1890, but it was only in 1909

CHAP. VIII.
MEDICAL
RELIEF.

Medical in-
stitutions.

Special in-
stitutions.

CHAP. VIII. MEDICAL RELIEF. that the asylum was opened, with accommodation for about forty inmates, in a building specially constructed for the purpose in the island of Vendurutti between Ernakulam and Mattancheri. Separate accommodation is provided for males and females. By Regulation VI of 1084, power was taken to segregate lepers.

Departmental supervision. In 1823, the Civil Surgeon of Cochin was appointed Medical Officer to the Darbar to superintend the work of the vaccinators and of the jail dressers. Six years later the supervision over vaccinators was entrusted to the Travancore Darbar Physician and that over the jail dressers to the Residency Surgeon. In 1846 the original plan was reverted to, and the Civil Surgeon of Cochin continued to be in charge of the medical department including vaccination till 1895, when a full-time Chief Medical Officer was appointed as the head of the department. In 1908 he was also made the Chief Sanitary Officer to Government.

SANITATION. There were no municipal or local boards in the State till 1910. No special arrangements were made by the Darbar for the sanitation and conservancy of towns till 1890: the Public Works and Maramat departments did what they could to keep the towns clean. In that year committees consisting of official and non-official gentlemen were appointed by the Government to look after the sanitation of Ernakulam and Trichur, and a monthly grant was sanctioned to a committee appointed by the merchants of Mattancheri to keep their bazaar clean. In 1896 these committees were superceded by Sanitary Boards constituted by Government for the towns of Ernakulam, Mattancheri and Trichur, and in the subsequent years similar boards were established in Kunnankulam, Irinjalakuda, Tripunittura, Nemmara and the Nelliampatis. The operations of the Sanitary Boards consist mainly in keeping the roads and drains of the several towns clean, and lighting the streets. As no local cesses of any kind were being levied until recently, the boards were financed entirely by the Government.

Department of Public Health. In 1908 the Sanitary department was reorganised, and was constituted into a Public Health department under the immediate control of the Chief Medical Officer. The Sanitary Boards continued to perform the same functions in towns, but qualified Sanitary Inspectors were appointed in the place of unpassed men. Steps were then taken for the first time for the sanitation of rural parts, for which the State was divided into two divisions, each being placed in charge of a first grade Sanitary Inspector.

These Inspectors were made responsible for supervision over vaccination, fairs and festivals, and epidemics, subject to the control of the Chief Sanitary Officer. A special conservancy establishment was also sanctioned, which is now mainly employed where fairs and festivals are held and wherever epidemics may break out. All the markets in the State were brought under the control of the department, and a Market Inspector was appointed to supervise the same with a view to their being kept in proper sanitary condition.

A Municipal and Sanitary Improvement Regulation was passed in 1910 mainly on the lines of the Madras District Municipalities Act, and its provisions were introduced about the middle of the year into three towns, Ernakulam, Mattancheri and Trichur. Councils consisting of official and non-official gentlemen were created for these towns, and taxes on houses, vehicles, etc., have recently begun to be levied. As the taxes are levied for the present only at very low rates, the Councils are now largely subsidised by the Government.

The registration of births and deaths began in 1073 M. E. (1897-98), but the work was done perfunctorily for several years. The duty was entrusted to Prāvritti (village) officers, but as the average area of a Prāvritti was about 20 square miles and its average population 19,000, it was impossible for them to register the statistics with any degree of exactitude, especially in the absence of any legislation to compel the people to give intimation of births and deaths. With the introduction of the new settlement however the 43 Prāvrittis were split up into 173 revenue villages. Regulation II of 1081 made the registration compulsory, and the necessary rules under the Regulation were passed and Registrars of births and deaths appointed in 1907. Since these measures were taken, there had been considerable improvement in the registration of vital statistics. The number of births and deaths registered in the last official year (1085) was 15,784 and 10,946 respectively, or 19.43 and 13.43 per mille of the population.

CHAPTER IX.

EDUCATION.

HISTORICAL: Indigenous system of education—First State schools—Early English schools—Subsequent progress —EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: Ernakulam College—Upper secondary schools—Lower secondary schools—Primary schools—Special schools—Government Industrial and Technical school—Female education—Recent educational reforms—Direction and inspection—LITERACY: Literacy by religion, caste, etc.

HISTORICAL. **P**RIOR to the administration of Colonel Munro the Government of Cochin did not at any time directly interest itself in the education of the people. The State did not maintain or aid any schools, but left the people to make their own arrangements for the education of their children. There were—most of them are still in existence—several *matts* where Namburi youths received their board and education free. They were taught the rudiments of knowledge in their own homes till the ceremony of *Upanayana*, or investiture with the holy thread, after which they resorted to one or another of these *matts* for their further studies. In these institutions all of them were taught to recite the Vedas, while those who had the inclination for it were also instructed in Sanskrit literature and science. The teachers were learned Namburis, who generally resided in the *matts* and received no remuneration for their services except free board and lodging. As members of other castes were not admitted to these institutions, higher education in Sanskrit was practically monopolised by the Brahmans. The other classes, however, especially the Ambalavasis and Nayars, were not left without education. Most of the well-to-do families had their family tutors, whose occupation was generally hereditary, and the children of the poorer families in the neighbourhood were sent to them for such instruction as they stood in need of and

for which they had to pay next to nothing. In the rural parts every village had its own *Ezhuttucchan*, or hereditary school master, who received the pupils in his own house and accepted such payments as the means of their parents admitted of. These masters taught the children reading and writing, the multiplication table and the recitation of Sanskrit hymns, and in some rare instances, Sanskrit poetry, drama and rhetoric were also taught. As children of all standards were taught promiscuously by a single teacher, their progress was necessarily slow; five to ten years were required for the acquisition of these rudiments of knowledge.

In accordance with a Proclamation issued in 1818 at the instance of Colonel Munro, thirty-three vernacular schools were established by the Sirkar in that year, one in each Pravritti, with the avowed object of training up young men for State service as writers and accountants. No change was however made in the manner and matter of instruction: each school had only a single teacher, and the curriculum of studies remained the same as that under the old village school masters. Naturally, therefore, these schools did not realise the expectations of their founder, and they were consequently considered superfluous, and were abolished in 1832. Three years later, Diwan Sankara-subbayya established six vernacular schools, one in each Taluk, but these too, though somewhat better conducted than the Pravritti schools, were not much of an improvement upon the private indigenous schools. When English schools were established in all the Taluks some years later, they became practically useless, but they long survived their usefulness, and were abolished only in 1890.

The first attempt to introduce the study of the English language was made by a missionary, Rev. J. Dawson, who opened an English school at Mattancheri in 1818, in aid of which he received a grant from the Sirkar. The school did not thrive, and had to be closed for want of pupils within three years. At the instance of the Resident Mr. Casamajor, another school was established in 1835 in the same place, where the children of the Jews were taught English, Hebrew and Malayalam. This school is still in existence as an aided Hebrew school, and is held in one of the synagogues in Jew Town. Two years later, an English school was opened at Trichur, and another at Tripunitura for the education of the princes and others, and one was opened at Ernakulam in 1845. These were purely elementary schools, and continued as such till 1875, when the school at

CHAP. IX.
HISTORICAL.

First State
schools.

Early Eng-
lish schools.

CHAP. IX. **Ernakulam** was placed under the charge of an European head master, Mr. A. F. Sealy, with whose name is associated the progress of English education in the State in its earlier stages. Since his appointment, the number attending the school increased rapidly, and its standard was gradually raised. In 1868 pupils were for the first time presented for the Matriculation Examination, and in 1875 the institution was raised to the status of a second grade college and affiliated to the Madras University.

Subsequent
progress.

In the meantime district schools were opened in all the Taluks, and were in 1877 placed under the direction of Mr. Sealy. These schools steadily rose in numbers and in standard, and most of them were subsequently raised to the status of high schools. In 1889, a set of rules was framed for giving grants in aid of private schools, in consequence of which several schools sprang up under the management of private agencies. Several of these schools have since risen to the lower and upper secondary standards, while the rest still continue as primary schools. In 1890, a great impetus was given to the education of the masses by the organisation of a department of vernacular instruction. State schools were opened for boys and girls in most of the Pravrittis, and a large number of indigenous schools were brought into the aided list. In the beginning of 1892, the vernacular and English departments were amalgamated, and placed under the control of a Superintendent of Education, since which the history of the department has been one of almost uninterrupted progress. In 1898, the high schools, both Sirkar and private, were removed from the control of the Superintendent and placed directly under the Diwan.

EDUCATION-
AL INSTITU-
TIONS.
Ernakulam
College.

The only college in the State is the one at Ernakulam, which from small beginnings has, under the fostering care of its successive Principals, Messrs. A. F. Sealy, D. M. Cruickshank and F. S. Davies, become one of the largest and most successful second grade colleges in Southern India. In 1870, the college was located in a spacious and substantial building specially built for the purpose under Mr. Sealy's supervision, and another equally spacious building was constructed in 1898 for the additional accommodation rendered necessary by the increase in the strength of the institution. It is now manned by an efficient staff of lecturers and teachers, and its equipments are such as fully satisfy the new University Regulations. A small students' hostel was opened last year in connection with the college, and a much larger one is now under construction.

- Besides the upper secondary department of the Ernakulam College, there are now fifteen upper secondary schools in the State, the names of which are given in the margin. Of these, the first eight are Sirkar, the next six aided and the last one unaided. Three of these are girls' schools, the Trichur Jubilee Girls' school, the Ernakulam Caste Girls' school, and the Ernakulam St. Teresa's Convent school, the first two of which are Sirkar and the last aided. St. Teresa's and St. Albert's schools are under the management of the Verapoly Mission, the Tirumala Devasvam school under that of the trustees of the Konkani temple in Mattancheri, the C. M. S. school is managed by the Church Mission Society, the St. Thomas by the Vicar Apostolic of Trichur and the remaining two by private native gentlemen. The number of pupils attending the upper secondary classes in 1910 was 1,503.
- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Tripunittura High School. | do. | per secondary schools in the State, | CHAP. IX.
EDUCATION-
AL INSTITU-
TIONS. |
| 2. Cranganur | do. | the names of which are given in the | Upper second-
ary schools. |
| 3. Irinjalakuda | do. | margin. Of these, the first eight are | |
| 4. Trichur | do. | Sirkar, the next six aided and the | |
| 5. Kunnankulam | do. | last one unaided. Three of these are | |
| 6. Chittur | do. | girls' schools, the Trichur Jubilee | |
| 7. Trichur Girls' | do. | Girls' school, the Ernakulam Caste | |
| 8. Ernakulam Girls' | do. | Girls' school, and the Ernakulam St. | |
| 9. Ernakulam St. Albert's | do. | Teresa's Convent school, the first | |
| 10. Ernakulam St. Teresa's Convent | do. | two of which are Sirkar and the last | |
| 11. Mattancheri Tirumala Devasvam | do. | aided. St. Teresa's and St. Albert's | |
| 12. Trichur C. M. S. | do. | schools are under the management | |
| 13. Nemmara A. V. | do. | of the Verapoly Mission, the Tirumala | |
| 14. Kunnankulam Mar Ignatius | do. | Devasvam school under that of the | |
| 15. Trichur St. Thomas | do. | trustees of the Konkani temple in | |

Including the lower secondary departments of the college and high schools, there are 39 lower secondary schools in the State, of which 14 are Sirkar, 24 aided and one unaided. Five of the Sirkar schools and six of the aided schools are exclusively for girls. The total strength of the lower secondary schools in 1910 was 2,709, of whom 324 were girls.

Primary education is being imparted in 1,046 schools, including the primary departments of the college and of the upper and lower secondary schools. Of these, 93 are Sirkar schools, 250 aided, and 703 unaided, 28 of the Sirkar schools and 14 of the aided ones being purely girls' schools. The number of pupils attending the Sirkar schools in 1910 was 13,645, aided schools 21,681, and unaided schools 15,011, or 50,337 in all. The Sirkar and aided schools are fairly efficient institutions for imparting primary instruction, but the great majority of the unaided ones are schools of the old indigenous kind, which are gradually dying out and giving place to primary schools of a more modern type.

There are 258 special schools in the State with a strength of 4,547. Of these, two are Sirkar institutions, the Normal school at Trichur and the Sanskrit Patasala at Tripunittura, and seven are aided industrial schools. In the latter, instruction is imparted to nearly 300 pupils in needle-work, mat-making,

CHAP. IX. embroidery, rosary-making, shoe-making, lace-making, etc. Of
EDUCATION- the remaining 249 schools, 50 are Sanskrit schools, 73 Arabic,
AL INSTITU- 65 Music, 5 Bible, 12 Tamil, 15 Medical, 12 Vedic, and 17 Astro-
TIONS. logical schools. A few of these schools are doing good work, but
the majority of them serve but little useful purpose.

Government
Industrial
and Technic-
al school.

Except aiding a few petty industrial schools, the Govern-
ment never took any important steps until quite recently to
promote industrial and technical education. Towards the end of
last year however a good beginning was made in this direction
by the opening of a Government Industrial and Technical
school at Trichur. In the Industrial section provision is made
for teaching carpentry and slojd, lacquer work, electro-plating
and gilding, bell-metal work, blacksmiths' work, mat-making,
rattan and bamboo work, weaving, pottery and engraving.
To this section is attached a female branch, in which ins-
truction is given in domestic economy, needle-work and dress-
making, lace-making, cutting out and tailoring, embroidery and
fancy work. In the Technical section are taught short-hand and
type-writing, precis-writing and indexing, commercial corres-
pondence and geography. In the Industrial section, instruction
is also given in English and Malayalam reading, writing, conver-
sation and composition, practical arithmetic and mensuration,
free-hand and geometrical drawing, while the Technical section
provides for those who wish to take the School Final Certificate
or technical subjects only. Attached to the Technical branch
there is also a juvenile commercial class for boys for instruc-
tion in bazaar accounts in the vernacular. It is also the
intention of the Darbar to open rural industrial schools when a
sufficient number of male and female teachers are trained in this
central school. With this object scholarships are given to a few
select pupils who have agreed to be trained as teachers and to
serve the Sirkar for three years.

Female edu-
cation.

The education of girls engaged the attention of the Darbar
only within the last twenty years. The first English school for
girls was opened at Trichur in 1889 in commemoration of Her
late Majesty's Jubilee, but two years before this the Carmelite
Mission established a convent girls' school at Ernakulam.
Both these have since been raised to the standard of high
schools. Since 1892 a number of English and vernacular
schools for girls were opened by the Sirkar or brought into the
aided list from time to time. There are at present 55 purely
girls' schools, of which 33 are Sirkar, 24 aided and one unaided,
the number of girls attending these being 6,563. Besides these,
over 8,000 girls attend the indigenous schools, most of which are
mixed ones. Till 1908, the girls in all classes were required to
pay fees at half the rates at which boys were required to pay, but

in that year fees were abolished in the primary department of all Sirkar girls' schools.

Education has received a great impetus all round during the present administration. In February 1908, the Diwan recorded an elaborate note, examining the system of education in the State with reference to its past history with a view to bring the educational policy up to the requirements of the present day and to remove the shortcomings of the existing organisation, and indicating the general lines on which educational reforms should be undertaken. The services of a veteran educationist, Mr. J. Vansomeran Pope, retired Director of Public Instruction in Burma, were entertained as Special Educational Officer for a period of three years to carry out the reforms, with such changes as might be found necessary. The more important of the reforms that have already been carried out or are now being inaugurated are the following:—

CHAP. IX.
EDUCATION-
AL INSTITU-
TIONS.
Recent edu-
cational re-
forms.

1. Schools were divided into vernacular and Anglo-vernacular. As a rule, village elementary schools are to be purely vernacular, the question of converting them into Anglo-vernacular schools being left in each case to be decided by the head of the department. As the object of the purely vernacular schools is the diffusion of primary education among the masses, no fee of any kind will be levied from the pupils attending them, but fees will be levied in all Anglo-vernacular schools, even in the elementary classes.

2. The curricula of the upper and lower secondary and primary schools were revised, and complete curricula for the Industrial school, and the Technical and School Leaving Certificate schemes and the Training school have been drawn up. These involved the introduction of slojd in Technical schools and the teaching of kindergarten and of object lessons in all primary schools, and of domestic economy, hygiene and needle-work in girls' schools.

3. The question of encouraging industrial and technical education, which is part of the new scheme, has already been referred to.

4. A number of night schools was opened for the benefit of the working classes, and a special curriculum has been drawn up for them.

5. A system of grant-in-aid, much more liberal than any that had hitherto been in force, has been sanctioned, under which grants will be given to (1) provide funds for the employment of fully trained teachers in schools under private management, (2) make good any deficiency in the total income of the school to the extent that it falls short of its legitimate expenditure, and (3) supplement the expenditure on buildings, land, furniture, equipment, etc.

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AL INSTITU-
TIONS.

6. The pay and prospects of teachers of all grades throughout the State have been considerably improved, involving as the improvement does an annual additional expenditure of nearly half a lakh of rupees.

7. The State Training school has been thoroughly reorganised under a new scheme, and a section for training female teachers has been added to it. Provision is made in it for training elementary and secondary grades of teachers.

8. With a view to help poor but deserving students to continue their studies, a new system of scholarships has been sanctioned, which will enable students studying in vernacular, Anglo-vernacular, primary, lower and upper secondary and junior University courses to further continue their studies and go up for higher examinations. The number of scholarships thus sanctioned is fifty-seven, of the aggregate monthly value of Rs. 900, and they have been evenly distributed throughout the State with due regard to the local requirements.

9. With a view to ensure continuity of policy in educational matters, a code containing full and clear instructions for the guidance of all branches of the department has been drawn up, and brought into force in June last.

These reforms will entail a heavy and steadily increasing annual expenditure. The Government grant for education in 1905-6 was only 1·2 lakhs of rupees, while the grant for the current year is nearly three lakhs.

Direction
and inspection.

The head of the department is the Special Educational Officer, but the designation will be changed into that of Director of Education on the expiry of the present incumbent's period of appointment. He is assisted by a Chief Inspector and three Deputy Inspectors; the former inspects chiefly the high schools and also helps the Special Educational Officer in his office work, while lower secondary and primary schools are generally inspected by the Deputy Inspectors.

LITERACY.

From the educational statistics given above, it may be surmised that Cochin stands high in the general percentage of the literacy of the people. Though only 22½ per cent. of the males and 4½ per cent. of the females in the State are able to read and

	Literates in 1000		write, yet in the proportion of literates to population Cochin stands, as shown in the margin, ahead of all other States and Districts in Southern India, barring the exceptional District of Madras. The percentage of pupils to the population of school-going age is 45, that of
	Males.	Females.	
Cochin ...	324	45	
Travancore ...	215	31	
Malabar ...	89	6	
Mysore ...	172	30	
Tanjore ...	208	9	
Madras ...	360	91	

males being 64 and of females 25. During the last twenty years however Cochin has retrograded rather than progressed in point of literacy, which is due to the fact that the growth of primary schools of the new type has not kept pace with the decay of the old indigenous schools. But the measures recently taken for the extension of elementary education will in the near future considerably raise the proportion of literacy among the people of the State.

There is comparatively a larger proportion of literates among the Jews than among the followers of any other religion. The Christians come next and are followed by the Hindus,

CHAP. IX.
LITERACY.

Literacy
by religion,
caste, etc.

	Literates in 1000		while the Muhammadans come last.
	Males.	Females.	
Hindus	217	39	In point of literacy of the females
Muhammadans	125	6	however the Christians are ahead
Christians	271	73	of the Jews. The Jews form a very
Jews	376	51	small community, and their literacy

is of the most rudimentary character, higher education having made little progress among them. The high proportion of literates among Christians is due to the influence of the native clergy and to the existence of primary schools attached to all the churches. In these schools reading, writing and certain scripture lessons are taught, and the vicars in charge of them use their influence with their congregation to send their children to these schools. In point however of secondary and collegiate education, the Christians have not made as much progress as the Hindus. The percentage of literacy among the Hindus would be far higher than among the native Christians, were it not for the backwardness of the lower castes, who form nearly 60 per cent. of the Hindu population. The higher castes are among the most literate classes in India,

	Literates in 1000		as will be seen from the statement
	Males.	Females.	
Namburis	695	227	given in the margin. Illiteracy is
Tamil Brahmins	688	80	almost unknown among Brahman,
Kshatriyas	614	319	Kshatriya and Ambalavasi males,
Ambalavasis	607	252	while literacy is equally rare among
Nayars	425	118	the Pulayans, Parayans and the hill

tribes. As regards the literacy of males, Kanayannur, which contains the capital and the educational centre of the State, stands first among the Taluks, while Trichur, with its preponderance of high class Hindus and Christians, is the second ; but the order is reversed in regard to the literacy of females. Mukundapuram comes last in the proportion of literate males and Chittur in that of literate females.

CHAPTER X.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

LAND TENURES: Prefatory—Traditionary account—Probable origin—Verumpattam—Kanam—Inam—Other tenures—ORIGIN OF LAND REVENUE: Previous sources of revenue—What necessitated levy of land tax—Kettezhuttus and kandezhuttus—Units of measurement—Division of lands—EARLY SETTLEMENTS: Kettezhuttu of 937 M. E. (1761-2)—Subsequent kettezhuttus—Kandezhuttu of parambas—Kandezhuttu of nilams—Commutation rates—House tax—Water cess—THE NEW SETTLEMENT: Survey operations—Outturn and cost of survey—Settlement legislation—General principles—Rates of assessment. Nilams—Parambas—Tirumulkazhcha—Inams—Land revenue assignments—The old and the new rates—Financial results—Concluding remarks—THE VILLAGE SYSTEM: Old village organisation—Change of system—Villages—Uzhiyam service—TALUK AND DIVISION CHARGES: Taluks—Divisions.

LAND TENURES.

Prefatory.

As land holding developed into a well defined, if complex, system centuries before the sovereign began to levy any revenue from the land, and as, when land revenue began to be imposed, the various tenures under which lands were held from time immemorial were taken into account in fixing the assessment, an account of the land tenures should naturally precede that of the land revenue administration. Here, as in Travancore and in Malabar, the property in the soil is vested not in the sovereign or in the cultivator, but in an intermediate class known as *janmis*, by whom the lands are leased to cultivators on the produce sharing system on a variety of tenures. The origin of this proprietary right and of the tenures on which the lands are leased is lost in the mists of antiquity. Various theories have been put forward by writers on the subject, which it is impossible to deal with fully within the limits of this book: all that can be attempted here is a recapitulation of the traditionary and popularly accepted account of their origin, together with what appears from a consideration of the circumstances of the case to be the true origin.

Traditionary account.

According to the traditionary account preserved in the *Keralotpatti*, a comparatively recent work, Parasurama, an

incarnation of Vishnu, created the land of Kerala and gave it as a gift to the Brahmans, whom he invited from the north and settled in sixty-four *gramams*. This gift, made with flower and water for their enjoyment, is called *janmam*. Parasurama then sent for Sudras from various countries, and settled them in the land as the *adiyans* and *kudiyans*, or the slaves and tenants, of the Brahmans. He established them in separate *taras*, and assigned to them the duties of supervising, executing and giving orders (literally, the eye, the hand and the order), so that they might preserve the rights of all classes from being curtailed or falling into disuse. To them as *kudiyans*, he also assigned the *kanam* and the inferior share (*kilkur*), while to the Brahmans belonged the *janmam* and the superior share (*melkur*). On the authority of this tradition, the Brahmans claim the exclusive proprietary right in the land as well as explain the absence in the old days of any general land tax in the State, since the ancient Hindu law-givers expressly excluded the Brahmans from payment of taxes. In the absence of authentic history and of the historical instinct among a people, all social and other phenomena are explained by ascribing a divine origin to them; the Brahmanical explanation of the origin of *janmam* and *kanam* is but one of the many illustrations of this tendency. All the evidence available at present tends to show that the Sudras established themselves in the country centuries before the Brahman immigrants found their way into it in successive waves, and at the dawn of history, the *janmam* or proprietary right in the land is found to have been vested for the most part in non-Brahmans. The probabilities therefore are that the Brahmans never enjoyed proprietary right over more than a minor portion of the land and that they obtained this right not by divine favour but—more prosaically—by gift, purchase or usurpation from the immigrants who settled in the country long before them.

The political constitution of the country had, from the times when we begin to get glimpses of it up to the middle of eighteenth century, been of the nature of a military hierarchy, whatever might have been the process of evolution by which it attained that form. The king was the head of the State, and had extensive crown lands for his maintenance, while the rest of his territory was divided into *nads* or districts ruled over by *Naduvazhi* chiefs, who exercised quasi-sovereign authority over them. The *nads* were again divided into *desams* or villages, some of which were reserved as the private property

Probable
origin.

of the king or the Naduvazhis, while the rest were made over to and ruled by *Desavazhis*. The proprietary right in the lands comprising the latter class of desams was vested in the *Desavazhis*, while that of the other desams belonged to the *Naduvazhis*. The king enjoyed the same right in the lands comprising the crown villages. This right, to the extent limited to property in the soil, came to be known as the *janmam* right. Neither the *Desavazhi* nor the *Naduvazhi* had to pay any regular tax to the king for the lands in their possession, but they were both bound to attend the king, and march wherever they were directed, with all the fighting men in their *nads* and *desams*. In the midst of the community organised in this manner, Brahmans from the north began to establish themselves, and by their great superiority in knowledge and intelligence, they gradually acquired great ascendancy over the people and their rulers. For their valuable services, both spiritual and temporal, they obtained, as in the other kingdoms of Southern India, repeated grants of lands with libations of water from the king and chiefs of the country, and the religious institutions founded by them or at their instance also received similar grants of land. The granting of lands in this manner to Brahmans and *Devasvams* was and is still considered to be an act of religious merit. Thus, in course of time, the lands became distributed among the king, the chiefs of *nads* and *desams*, the Brahmans and the *Devasvams*. Some of the landed proprietors among the Brahmans rose to the position of *Naduvazhis* and *Desavazhis*, and two of them even became rulers of petty kingdoms, but the great majority of the rulers and chiefs were always non-Brahmans. This latter circumstance conclusively proves that the Brahmans were the new-comers and that they acquired their rights and privileges from the earlier settlers. In view of their great superiority over the Dravidians in almost every respect, it is inconceivable that the latter could have succeeded in wresting so much power from the Aryans. The king and the chiefs leased most of their lands on favourable terms to their military retainers, mainly *Nayars*, who, in consideration of the substantial profit they derived from their holdings, were bound to render gratuitous military service whenever called upon to do so. The normal lease was a simple one called *verumpattam*, which was redeemable at pleasure. When any retainer rendered distinguished service, such as, in the opinion of the chief, merited special reward, the lease was converted into a *kanam*, which not only rendered it irredeemable

for a generation, but also entitled the tenant to a pecuniary compensation in the event of eviction. If the service rendered was of an exceptional nature, the lease was made perpetual and irredeemable, with only a nominal rent payable by the tenant (*inam* or *anubhogam*). Thus, in their origin, the land tenures of this coast were essentially military, though in their subsequent developments under altered circumstances they have lost much of this character.

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LAND
TENURES.
—

Verumpattam is a simple lease which endures only for one year if no period is specified in the deed. In leases of this kind in the old days, a third of the net produce of the land, after deducting the cost of seed and an equal amount for the cost of cultivation, was reserved to the tenant, and two-thirds paid to the landlord, and though tenants were liable to surrender their holdings whenever called upon to do so, they were in practice allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of the property so long as they regularly paid the rent agreed upon. This old custom is still scrupulously adhered to by the best class of janmis, but the tendency in recent years has been to disturb it to the prejudice of the tenants. In many cases now the tenant's share is less, in varying degrees, than a third of the net produce, and in some it is hardly more than the bare cost of seed and cultivation, the tenants in such cases being practically labourers on subsistence wages. *Verumpattam* tenants are entitled to compensation for improvements, if they are made with the express or implied consent of their landlords.

Verumpattam.

The *verumpattam* becomes a *kanam* lease when the janmi acknowledges liability to pay a lump sum to the tenant on the redemption of his lease. In the old days this liability was created in most cases as a reward to the tenant for military or other services rendered by him, but in more recent times, *kanam* encumbrances were generally created by the janmi borrowing money from his tenant to meet any extraordinary expenditure, by the conversion of the compensation payable to *kuzhikanam* holders into a *kanam* debt, or by the treatment of the amount deposited by the tenant for the punctual payment of rent and husband-like cultivation as a charge on the land. In *kanam* leases the net produce, after deducting the cost of seed and cultivation, is shared equally between the landlord and the tenant, and from the share of the former the tenant is entitled to deduct interest on the *kanam* amount at five per cent. The overplus, that is payable to the janmi after making these deductions, is known as *michavaram*. The *kanamdār* is entitled

Kanam.

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LAND
TENURES.
—

to the undisturbed enjoyment of the land for twelve years, but formerly it was for the life-time of the demisor. At the end of this period, the lease may be terminated by the janmi paying the kanam amount and the value of improvements effected by the tenant, or it may be renewed on the latter paying a premium or renewal fee to the landlord. The rate of renewal fee formerly was ten per cent. of the kanam amount, with an additional three per cent. on account of certain incidental payments, but it is now 25 to 30 per cent. Though the kanam lease is redeemable at the end of its period at the pleasure of the janmi, yet according to a long standing custom which was once universally observed and which is still scrupulously observed by the better class of janmis, a kanam tenant is never evicted except for four specific reasons, namely, fraudulent conduct on the part of the tenant derogating from the janmi's title, wilful and extensive waste of the land in his possession, persistent default in the payment of rent and other dues, and refusal to accept renewal of lease by paying the customary fees.

Janmi.

Inam or *anubhogam* is a perpetual lease granted for services rendered or to be rendered, and is known by different names according to the caste status of the grantees. If the grant is made to a Brahman, it is called *Santati Brahmasram*, if to a non-Brahman of caste equal or superior to the grantor, it is called *anubhogam* or *sasratam*, and if to a person of inferior caste, *adima* or *kudima*. These leases cannot be alienated unless there is an express stipulation allowing such alienation, and if alienated in the absence of such stipulation, they are liable to revocation or conversion into *verumpattam* at the option of the grantors. Ordinarily, a small rent or right to renewal fee or both are reserved to the grantors, the renewal fee in such cases being one year's assumed rent. On failure of heirs, the grants revert to the janmis.

Other tenures.

Otti and *nerkanam* have the same incidents as kanam, except that the amount advanced by the tenant is so large that the interest extinguishes the rent due to the janmi, and that in the case of *otti* the tenant has also the right of pre-emption if the janmi wishes to dispose of the land. *Panayam* is a simple mortgage with or without possession, and cannot properly be called a tenure. But as case-made law has of late made kanam partake more of the nature of a mortgage than of a lease, *panayam* has begun to be mentioned among the tenures. In the absence of express stipulations, there are in

panayam no implied covenants for quiet enjoyment for a specified period, or for compensation for improvements or for payment of renewal fees, the three chief characteristics of the kanam lease. *Kuzhikanam* is a lease granted to a tenant to reclaim land or improve the soil, and endures for twelve years unless a term is expressly stipulated. No advance is made to the janmi, nor is any rent paid as a rule. At the end of the stipulated period, the tenant is entitled to compensation for improvements; the ascertained compensation however is not generally paid but made a kanam charge on the land, the reclaimer thus becoming a kanamdar. Besides these, there were several other tenures in operation at different times, but they have now become obsolete.

CHAP. X.
ORIGIN
OF LAND
REVENUE.

Land revenue, as it is now understood, began to be levied for the first time in 1762. Prior to that year, the produce of the land used to be shared exclusively between the janmi and the tenant in certain fixed proportions. In that year, however, it became necessary to provide additional funds for administrative purposes to be presently explained, and it was decided to levy from land-holders a *rajabhogam*, or king's share, as distinguished from the *janmibhogam*, or the landlord's share. This *rajabhogam*, together with the *janmibhogam* of the lands which belonged to the Sirkar in jannam, constituted the land revenue of the State.

ORIGIN
OF LAND
REVENUE.

The chief sources of the king's revenue prior to 1762 were the *kandukrishi* or crown lands, customs and monopolies. The crown lands, which consisted eventually of 365 farms, were either leased to tenants at will or cultivated by the Raja's slaves under the supervision of officers appointed for the purpose. Owing to the large foreign trade which Cochin enjoyed from very early times, the customs revenue was considerable, and consisted of transit duties as well as duties on exports and imports. Since the advent of the Portuguese, pepper and other spices were treated as articles of State monopoly, which could be disposed of by the producers only to the State. The latter purchased them at fixed prices and sold them at a profit. A tax called *kettutengu* was levied from the cocoanut gardens owned by *Madamp*i chiefs at the rate of six annas and eight pies per tree on three per cent. of the trees in every garden. Among the minor sources of income were the annual nuzzar, the protection fees under various names and the succession fees paid by chiefs and other land-holders, taxes upon the houses of tradesmen and other professional men, fees paid when titles or

Previous
sources of
revenue.

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OF LAND
REVENUE.

privileges were conferred on individuals or families, and criminal fines, and fines levied for caste and other social offences. The estates of chiefs and others dying without heirs lapsed to the king, and adoptions could be made only with his consent and on payment to him of 20 per cent. of the value of the estate as nuzzar. He was entitled to all wrecks stranded on his shores, to all elephants caught in pits and to certain natural freaks among cattle. All teak trees, whether standing in Sirkar or private lands, were the monopoly of the State.

What necessitated levy of land tax.

When local administration was in the hands of hereditary chiefs and the army consisted of militias maintained by them, the income from the above sources, though not large, was generally sufficient for the maintenance of the royal family and of such limited establishments as were then needed. But when, after the expulsion of the Zamorin in 1762, the chiefs were divested of their administrative and military powers and the administration was placed in the hands of officers appointed by the Raja, it became necessary to provide funds for the maintenance of these administrative establishments, as also of a standing army. As the income from the existing sources was not sufficient for these purposes, the levy of a general land tax on a very limited scale was ordered from 1761-2. In 1774, Haidar, after his second conquest of Malabar, demanded a contribution of four lakhs of rupees from Cochin; the demand was readily complied with with a view to obtain immunity from invasion. To meet this expenditure, an additional tax was levied from land-holders in 1799 M. E. In 1807, Cochin became tributary to Haidar and had to pay a tribute of one lakh of pagodas in 1802 and thirty thousand in each of the subsequent years. The rates of assessment were accordingly revised in 1802 and 1803 to meet this demand. Since this period, there had been settlements of land revenue on several occasions, some general and others piecemeal, the nature of which will be explained below.

Kettezhuttus and kande-zhuttus.

On none of the occasions of the settlement anterior to 1814 M. E. (1814-15) was a regular *paimash* or survey of lands made, but the amount of assessment was fixed after oral enquiries and personal conferences with land-holders, and the accounts were prepared mainly with reference to the statements furnished by the latter. These settlements are therefore known as *kettezhuttus*, or records of what was heard. On all the subsequent occasions the lands were actually inspected and on some occasions measured by the settlement officers, and the accounts

were prepared with reference to these inspections and measurements. These settlements are known as *kandezhuttus*, or records of what was seen.

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OF LAND
REVENUE.

For purposes of assessment, lease and other transactions connected with land, its extent in the old days was calculated not with reference to its superficial area but with reference to the quantity of seed required for sowing it. Thus, a plot of land was spoken of as so many *paras* in extent, according to the number of *paras* of paddy that were required on an average to sow it. Even when the superficial area began subsequently to be taken into account, and the extent of land calculated in terms of *perukkams* (a *perukkam* being equal to one-fifth of a cent), the *para* remained the unit of measurement for all ordinary purposes. Till the forties of the last century, a *para* was taken as the equivalent of sixty *perukkams*, and since that period the commutation was usually made at forty *perukkams* a *para*, or $12\frac{1}{2}$ *paras* an acre. The outturn or productive capacity of paddy land was always referred to as so many fold of its seed capacity, and it was on this ratio that the janmi's share of the produce was calculated. The assessment calculations in the case of wet land were thus based on three well known particulars, its seed capacity, its outturn multiple and the janmi's share. In the case of dry or garden lands, the janmi received a customary share of the produce of certain specified trees, and on this share was based the assessment of Sirkar revenue on such lands.

Units of
measure-
ment.

All assessable lands are divided into two classes, *nilams* and *parambas*. The former consist of all lands which have been levelled, bunded and adapted for the cultivation of paddy, and the latter of lands adapted for the cultivation of crops other than paddy, whether they contain taxable trees or not. All lands, whether *nilams* or *parambas*, are again divided into *pandaravaka* and *puravaka*. The former are lands over which the State has the janmam or proprietary right, while the janmam right over *puravaka* lands is vested in private individuals or public institutions. *Pandaravaka* lands are held by ryots directly under the Sirkar on the same tenures on which *puravaka* lands are held by tenants under the janmis, *viz.*, *verumpattam*, *kanam*, *otli*, *panayam*, *anubhogam*, etc. In fact, the lands known as *pandaravaka* came into the possession of the State chiefly by escheat and confiscation, and the tenures under which the lands were held under their former proprietors

Division
of lands.

CHAP. X. were left undisturbed by the Sirkar. The legal incidents of
 EARLY the various tenures remained the same till the recent settlement,
 SETTLE- whether the land was pandaravaka or puravaka.
 MENTS.

At the settlement of 937 M. E., a tax called *muppara* at
 Kettezhuttu the rate of three paras of paddy for every ten paras of land was
 of 937 M. E. charged on all pandaravaka kanam lands, in addition to the
 (1761-2). michayaram rent which was being hitherto levied on them, and
 on all puravaka lands demised to tenants on kanam or anubho-
 gom tenures. If, in the case of any land, the *kavalpalam*, or
 protection fee, which was being levied theretofore, was found to
 be in excess of the muppara, the former impost should continue
 to be levied and no muppara charged. No muppara was to be
 charged on puravaka lands held as *tanatu verumpattam*, that is,
 lands farmed by the jannai himself or leased to tenants at will
 from year to year, but the protection fee should continue to be
 levied, whether it was more or less than the former. Bearing
 cocoanut, arecanut and jack trees standing in pandaravaka
 parambas were charged with assessment at the following rates :
 1½ annas per cocoanut tree together with *kettutengu*, i. e., 6½
 annas per tree on three per cent. of the trees in a garden; 2½
 pies per arecanut tree; and 6½, 5 and 3½ annas per jack tree
 according to its fruit bearing capacity. In the case of trees
 standing on puravaka parambas, only *ettilonnu*, or one-eighth of
 the above rates, was to be charged. Parambas containing no
 taxable trees, but bearing such crops as pulses and other cereals,
 were charged with a *raram* or cess of one-tenth or one-twentieth
 of the gross produce according as they were pandaravaka or
 puravaka.

In 949 M.E., (1773-4), to pay the contribution demanded by
 Subsequent Haidar, a heavy tax was levied from land-holders at the rate of
 Kettezhuttu. nine annas per para of land to the north of the Travancore Lines
 and five annas per para to the south of the same. A similar con-
 tribution at enhanced rates was levied in 952 to pay the nuzzar of
 four lakhs of rupees to Haidar, but from the next year onwards
 the rates were reduced to those of 949. As however money was
 scarce in those days, it was found impossible to realise this
 heavy assessment in money, and consequently from 959 (1783-4)
 the assessment began to be levied in kind. Since then, there had
 been several piecemeal *kettezhuttu* settlements, but the records
 do not throw any light on their scope or nature, except on that
 of 964 M. E. (1789-90). In that year, a second crop assessment,
 called *kalanikutu*, began to be levied on puravaka nilams in some
 parts of the Mukundapuram, Trichur and Talapilli Taluks, the

rate of assessment being a little less than one-half of the first crop charge. This assessment continued to be levied even after the general and more systematic settlement of 996, but it was charged only on those lands on which it was charged in 964. The assessment thus had no general application, and it was for this and other reasons abolished by Diwan Sankara Variyar in 1848.

It is clear from the above that these revenue settlements were conducted in a haphazard manner, the object in view being the raising of funds somehow to meet the pressing demands for money from time to time. When Colonel Munro took charge of the administration in 1812 and began to take steps to systematise it, the unsatisfactory state of the land revenue accounts and administration was one of the first things that attracted his notice. He accordingly issued a Hukmnama in May 1814, containing instructions for the inspection and assessment of nilams and parambas throughout the State in a systematic manner. The *kandezhuttu* of parambas, according to the principles therein laid down, was started in 990 M. E. (1814-15), and that of nilams in 996. The parambas containing taxable trees were assessed with a *vrikshapattam*, or tree tax, and those without such trees were assessed with a *payattupattam*, or pea tax. Payattupattam was charged on pandaravaka parambas at the rate of ten pies or five pies per para of land according to the nature of the soil, and on puravaka parambas at one-eighth of these rates. In the Chittur Taluk however a uniform rate of seven pies per para was charged, whether the paramba was pandaravaka or puravaka, and in some cases a *vallavari* was charged instead of payattupattam at rates ranging from one to two rupees per *vallam*, a *vallam* being equal to three acres and sixty cents.

The trees treated as taxable were the cocoanut, arecanut, palmyra and jack. Cocoanut trees were divided into four classes, and assessed at the rates of 40, 30, 20 and 10 pies respectively per tree. Besides this, a kettutengu was charged at the same rate as that prescribed in 939, and also a *pattakazhcha*, or nuzzar, at rates ranging from 10 pies to 3 rupees and 5 annas according to the extent of each plantation.* The arecanut trees were assessed at two rates, *viz.*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 pies per tree, and the palmyra palms, which were taxed only in some places, were charged with

* In the Vendurutti island, which once belonged to the Dutch and was purchased from them by the Raja in 1758, the Dutch levied a uniform rent of $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas on each cocoanut tree. The same rate continued to be charged till 1840, when on the representation of the ryots of the place it was reduced to 5 annas. In 1858, the rates obtaining in the other parts of the State were introduced here also.

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10 pies per tree.* The jack trees were divided into four classes, and the rates of assessment levied on them were $13\frac{1}{2}$, 10, $6\frac{3}{4}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per tree respectively. The above rates were for trees standing on pandaravaka parambas. On puravaka parambas, cocoanut and arecanut trees were assessed at the uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ pies per tree, and the jack trees at one-eighth of the pandaravaka rates. Kettutengu was charged on cocoanut trees in puravaka lands at the same rate as that obtaining in pandaravaka lands.

As there had been a steady increase, since the kandezhuttu of 990, in the planting of cocoanut and arecanut trees and in the cultivation of dry crops, a kandezhuttu of parambas was carried out in 1012 (1837-8) with a view to bring to book the trees newly planted and the parambas newly cleared. On this occasion the extent of the lands which were found occupied and also of some unoccupied but cultivable lands was registered after actual measurement. This process was again repeated twenty years later, namely, in 1032 (1857-8). On neither of these occasions was any change made in the rates of assessment. The kandezhuttu of 1012 increased the paramba assessment by Rs. 19,000 and that of 1032 by Rs. 37,000.

Kandezhuttu
of nilams.

The kandezhuttu of 996 embraced all the wet lands then under cultivation. The lands were not actually measured, but the extent was estimated after personal inspection by settlement officers in terms of the quantity of seed required for sowing a field, and the tax due to the State was fixed with reference to the estimates of the land-holders and their neighbours. The assessment of pandaravaka lands held on verumpattam tenure consisted mainly of *pattam*, *nilavari* and *pattakazhcha* in the Cochin and Kanayannur Taluks, and of *pattam*, *nikuti*, *palam* and *pattakazhcha* in the other Taluks except Chittur, where only *pattam* and *palam* were levied. The *pattam* or rent proper was generally fixed at half the janmi's share, or about a third of the net produce, and amounted to one-fourth to six paras of paddy per para of land. The *nilavari* cess was levied at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ pies per para and in a few cases at 15 pies. *Pattakazhcha* was a nuzzar paid to the janmi, the amount ranging from 10 pies to Rs. 4—9—2 according to the extent of the holding. The rates of *nikuti* varied according to the quality of the soil from one-fourth to one para of paddy per para of land, and those of *palam* from a tenth to three-fourths of a para.

* In a few desams in the Cochin Taluk *chambaka* trees (*Michelia champaci*) were once charged with assessment at the rate of four annas and two pies per tree.

Palam amounting to three-tenths of a para was technically known as *muppara*. The assessment on pandaravaka kanam lands was calculated in the same manner as that on verumpattam lands, except that *michavaram* was substituted for pattam, nilavari was charged at the uniform rate of 15 pies, and pattakazhcha varied from 20 pies to $1\frac{1}{4}$ rupees. These kanam leases were subject to periodical renewal on payment of the customary premia in the same manner as similar leases held by tenants under private janmis. In the case of lands held as *adima* and *anubhogam*, a lump sum was deducted from the pattam (the amount deducted being called *udankuravu*), while all the other items of assessment were levied exactly as in the case of kanam lands. *Karaima* lands were charged with only what is known as *melaima*, or royalty, which amounted to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the pattam and pattakazhcha. No impost of any kind was charged on lands held as *karoohiru* or tax free, except in the case of some lands so held in the Chittur Taluk, which were only exempted from the payment of palam, but were charged with pattam. On puravaka nilams, no pattam or pattakazhcha was charged, but muppara and nilavari were levied in the southern Taluks and nikuti and palam in the northern Taluks. The nilavari charged was generally 15 pies per para, but in a few cases it was only $7\frac{1}{2}$ pies. As the assessment on wet lands was for a long time levied in kind, provision was made in the earlier settlements, by means of some minor cesses, against losses on account of wastage, transit charge, etc. These cesses were *paravasi* (deficiency in measure), which amounted to 5 to 10 per cent. of the assessment and *chumattukuli* (transport charge), which varied, according to the distance from the place of collection to the Government granary, from 15 to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the nikuti. In some Taluks and on some lands, *nirapara* (full measure, or the para liberally heaped) was collected, which raised the assessment by 20 per cent. These imposts were not abolished when the assessment began to be levied in money, but were consolidated with the assessment proper. In the survey and settlement registers, all these particulars were shown against each item, and the total amount of grain was then commuted into money. This kandezhuttu did not increase the total land revenue to any appreciable extent, but it resulted in a more even and equitable distribution of the demand.

For over half a century after land revenue began to be levied, the assessment on wet lands was collected in kind, except for a few years during the Mysorean supremacy when a portion

Commuta-
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of it was levied in money. In 1813, soon after Colonel Munro took charge of the administration, he ordered the collection of assessment in money, the rate of commutation being 5·25 paras per rupee. But as the market price of paddy then was between eight and ten paras a rupee, this rate pressed heavily on the ryots, and consequently it was changed into seven paras per rupee in 1816. The same rate was generally adopted at the kandezhuttu of 996, but the rate was not made uniform for the whole State. As there was no wheeled traffic in those days, paddy fetched a higher price in those parts of the State which enjoyed water communication with the port of Cochin than in the remaining parts. Different rates of commutation were therefore adopted for different localities with reference to the prices that ruled therein. A few years after this, the market price of paddy began to rise steadily, and by 1850 it began to exceed the commutation price. A large quantity of paddy was required for expenditure in temples, Uttupuras, hospitals and jails; the rise in the price of paddy therefore raised the expenditure on these institutions beyond the sanctioned allotments. Diwan Sankara Variyar thereupon ordered the levy of a portion of the assessment in kind in 1855 and 1856 and, on the Resident objecting to this, he proposed the revision of the commutation rates. But before giving effect to the proposal, he died, and his successor revived the practice of levying a portion of the land tax in kind. The ryots repeatedly complained against this step, whereupon the Madras Government expressed their disapproval of it. "The evil", they said, "incident to the system of levying the Government dues in kind are well known. A recurrence to it after it had been for so many years discontinued in Cochin is much to be deprecated". Soon after Diwan Sankunni Menon took charge therefore, he gave effect to his father's proposals with the result that the receipts on account of land revenue rose by nearly a lakh of rupees at one bound in 1860. The original and revised rates for the different localities are shown below :—

Localities.	Commutation rate per rupee	
	996	1095
	Paras.	Paras.
1. Cochin and Kanayannur Taluks except Vellarapilli Pravritti	5·25	4·37
2. Vellarapilli Pravritti, Mukundapuram and Trichur Taluks and all but four Pravrittis of Talapilli Taluk.	7·00	5·25
3. Chelakara and Pazhayannur Pravrittis	8·40	6·30
4. Machad and Mundathikod Pravrittis	7·35	5·60
5. Nemmara Pravritti	8·75	6·30
6. The rest of Chittur Taluk	7·00	5·60

Besides the assessment charged on lands, a tax was levied also on all houses except Government buildings, religious edifices and residences of Brahmans and nobles. In the Trichur and Talapilli Taluks, the amount levied as house tax was about six annas per house, while in the other Taluks, it varied from twenty to forty pies. The tax was known by various names—*andutirumulkazhcha* or annual nuzzar, when paid by Nayars and other caste Hindus, *pidikappanam* or shop tax, when paid by native Christians, Muhammadans and others, *purappanam* or house tax, when paid by Izhuvans, etc., *alappanam* or smithy tax, when paid by blacksmiths and others, *chulappanam* or kiln tax, when paid by potters, and so on.

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—
House tax.

In addition to the ordinary assessment, a special cess was charged on all lands benefited by irrigation works constructed at the cost of Government. A large number of permanent *chiras* or embankments were constructed at different times in various parts of the country for the prevention of the ingress of salt water or for the storage of water, and temporary bunds were constructed for a similar purpose every year. The lands, the cultivation of which was facilitated or rendered possible by these works, were charged with a cess, called *chiravari*, at the rate of one-tenth to one-half para of paddy per para of land according to the outlay on the *chiras* concerned. In some cases, the cess was levied at the uniform rate of 14 pies per para. When irrigation works on a large scale were constructed in the Chittur Taluk, a cess was imposed on the lands benefited by them at the rate of three annas and six pies per para of land benefited by the Mulattara anicut and four annas and seven pies per para benefited by the anicut at Nurni.

Water cess.

The great defect of the kandezhuttu accounts was that they were so cumbrous and complicated that no one could understand them thoroughly without a long apprenticeship in a revenue office. The extent of lands given therein had no pretensions to accuracy, nor did any arrangement exist for systematically recording transfers and divisions of holdings and thus bringing the accounts up to date. Consequently, while the other branches of administration by a series of reforms attained considerable efficiency, the land revenue administration deteriorated and got out of line with the former. The necessity for improving matters in this direction and bringing this branch of administration into line with the other branches began to force itself upon the notice of the authorities more than fifteen years ago, and successive Residents, whose views were endorsed by

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the Madras Government, suggested to the Darbar the desirability of a scientific survey of the whole State, to be followed by a revision of assessment with reference to the actual extent of the lands and their productive capacity ascertained by some systematic method. Though the importance and usefulness of the suggestion were recognised by the Darbar, no active steps were taken to carry it out till Mr. Rajagopalachari assumed charge of the administration.

Survey opera-
tions.

The cadastral survey was started in the beginning of 1074 M. E. (August 1898) under the supervision of Mr. Thompson, an experienced officer of the Madras Survey, whose services were lent for the purpose by the Madras Government and who proved himself to be a particularly zealous and capable officer. The survey of the Kanayannur and Cranganur Taluks was completed in 1075 and that of Cochin in the next year. The survey of the remaining Taluks, *viz.*, Mukundapuram, Chittur, Trichur and Talapilli, was then taken up, and completed in 1078, 1079, 1080 and 1082 respectively. The preparation of the land registers, field measurement books, village maps and other final survey records kept pace with the progress of field work, and with the delivery of the final survey records of the Talapilli Taluk to the settlement department in 1083, the general survey operations of the whole State were practically closed. Besides the general survey, the department carried out several special surveys, the most important of which were the revision survey of accretion lands in the Cochin Taluk, the verification of Cochin-Travancore boundary and the subsequent co-operation survey, the demarcation and survey of the several forest blocks in the Chittur *kanam* (teak area) and the forest tramway up to the Coimbatore frontier, and the topographical survey of the several hill ranges of forest reserves. When the survey operations were started, it was found necessary to provide, by special legislation, for the adjudication of boundary disputes, the recovery of survey charges from land-holders and other matters. A Survey Regulation, II of 1074, was accordingly passed, and a series of rules was framed thereunder, laying down the principles and procedure to be followed in demarcating fields, etc. Owing to Mr. Thompson's efficient supervision of the work and the excellence of the demarcation rules, the survey operations were carried out with remarkable thoroughness and accuracy, and the work had never to be re-done at any stage or in any locality. This thoroughness and accuracy of the survey operations considerably facilitated the progress of settlement work.

The total outturn of general survey was 989½ square miles of theodolite and 974½ square miles of field survey. The total extent, according to the survey, of wet or paddy lands was 2,05,795 acres, and that of parambas or dry lands 2,74,180 acres, against 1,26,421 and 2,24,471 acres respectively according to the old revenue accounts. The aggregate cost to the State on account of the survey operations amounted in round numbers to 6½ lakhs of rupees and to the ryots on account of survey stones and measuring charges of survey fields to 4½ lakhs. The cost per mile of theodolite survey alone was Rs. 88, and of field survey Rs. 404, the average cost, when all items of expenditure were taken into consideration, being Rs. 646 per square mile. The average cost per acre to the land-holders was not uniform in all places owing to differences in local conditions and in the extent of holdings: it ranged from twelve annas to a rupee and a half.

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Outturn
and cost of
survey.

The final survey records of the Kanayannur Taluk were ready by the middle of 1077 (January 1902), when a small settlement staff was organized for starting the soil classification of that Taluk, and was placed under the supervision of an experienced revenue officer, Mr. V. K. Raman Menon, who had some years previously been appointed Special Revenue Officer under the Survey Regulation. The classification of the soils of Kanayannur, Cochin and Cranganur was completed by the end of 1079, when a separate settlement department was constituted under the same officer as Settlement Peishkar. The results of the classification of soils were then tabulated, and with reference to those results, the Diwan Mr. N. Pattabhirama Rau, a British Settlement officer of wide and varied experience, drafted a Proclamation formulating the principles on which the settlement should be conducted. The Proclamation received the approval of the Madras Government, who considered the scheme to be "on the whole moderate and equitable", and was issued under the Sign Manual of His Highness the Raja in 1080 (10th March 1905). Besides the provisions for introducing the settlement proper, including as it did the classification of land and soils, fixing the assessment rates, the verification of tenures and occupancy particulars, the issue of rough and final pattas and the preparation of final registers, the Proclamation contained provisions for conducting detailed inquiries into and settling all claims to inams and assignments of land revenue, and all cases of escheat. Detailed rules were framed under the various sections of the Proclamation, laying down the

Settlement
legislation.

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General
principles.

procedure to be followed in carrying out the principles formulated therein.

All lands were divided as before into nilams and parambas for purposes of assessment, but their areas were recorded in terms of English acres and cents instead of perukkams or paras and edangalis. Parambas were divided, as in the previous settlements, into payattupattam and vrikshapattam parambas, the only trees taxed in the latter being cocoanut, arecanut and jack. All lands were classified with reference to the nature of their soils in accordance with the table of classification prescribed in the Madras Settlement Manual. Pandaravaka verumpattam was treated as the normal tenure for settling the full State demand, and all other tenures were brought under one or another of three favourable tenures, pandaravaka kanam, puravaka and inam. The State demand on pandaravaka kanam lands was made two-thirds of that on verumpattam lands, one-third being waived in lieu of the extinction of the customary incidents of kanam tenure. The puravaka assessment was one-half that of pandaravaka verumpattam in the case of nilams and one-fourth in the case of parambas. Inam grants were confirmed, modified or redeemed according to the merits of each case, and assignments of land revenue were also treated in the same manner. Full property in the soil was conferred upon pandaravaka verumpattam and kanam holders, and the settlement was made current for a period of thirty years, during which the assessment was not to be enhanced or interference of any kind permitted for any reason whatever. The settlement was made with the present holders in the case of pandaravaka verumpattam and kanam lands and with the janmis in the case of puravaka lands. In the kandezhuttus of 990 and 996, the settlement was generally made with the janmis and tenants jointly.

Rates of
assessment.
Nilams.

For fixing the rates of assessment on nilams, the gross produce was estimated by means of harvest experiments, and the outturn thus arrived at was converted into money at the rate of four annas and seven pies per para of paddy, the average market price for the past twenty years being seven annas and one pie per para. From this amount, deductions were made on account of vicissitudes of season, unprofitable areas and cultivation expenses, and the balance was assumed as the net produce. One-half of this net produce was taken as the share due to the State in respect of lands held under the normal tenure, *viz.*, pandaravaka verumpattam. The lands were divided into nine *tarams* according to their productive

capacity, and nine rates of assessment were accordingly adopted, ranging from one rupee to seven rupees and eight annas,

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Taram	Rates.			
	Chittur Taluk		Other Taluks.	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
1	9	0	7	8
2	7	8	6	8
3	6	8	5	8
4	5	8	4	8
5	4	8	3	8
6	3	8	2	8
7	2	8	2	0
8	"	"	1	8
9	"	"	1	0

as shown in the margin. In the Chittur Taluk however only seven rates were adopted, and the rates were fixed higher on account of the irrigation facilities afforded to the ryots by the Darbar and in lieu of the abolition of the water cess which used to be levied till the new settlement. For an occasional second crop raised on single

crop nilams, one-half the single crop assessment was charged. In the case of permanent double crop lands, the ryots were given the option to compound the second crop charge at one-fourth of the first crop charge, which he should pay, whether he raised the second crop or not in any year. The rates for pandaravaka kanam and puravaka lands were two-thirds and one-half of those given in the margin.

Payattupattam parambas or parambas without taxable trees were divided, with reference to their productive capacity, into eight *tarams* in Chittur and seven in the other Taluks, with rates for pandaravaka verumpattam ranging from two annas

Parambas.

Taram	Rates.			
	Chittur Taluk		Other Taluks	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
1	2	0	1	8
2	1	8	1	0
3	1	0	0	12
4	0	12	0	8
5	0	8	0	6
6	0	6	0	4
7	0	4	0	2
8	0	2	"	"

to two rupees as shown in the margin. In respect of *vrikshapattam* parambas, the assessment was charged not on the land but on the trees. Coconut trees were divided into four classes not with reference to the yield of individual trees but with reference to their situation on the sea-board, or along-

side the back-waters, rivers or paddy swamps, or the interior hilly tracts. The rates charged were three annas six pies, three annas, two annas and one anna per tree respectively. The assessments fixed on arecanut and jack trees were at the uniform rates of four pies and four annas per tree respectively. Only bearing trees were counted and assessed, and the maximum number of coconut trees assessable in an acre of paramba was fixed at 60 and of arecanut trees at 480, the trees in excess of these numbers being left unassessed. In the case of parambas containing more than one description of taxable trees, the assessment was not to exceed the highest assessment of a coconut

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garden containing the maximum number of trees. Several lakhs of cocoanut and arecanut trees and several thousands of jack trees escaped assessment under this concession. The above rates are for pandaravaka parambas, those for pandaravaka kanam and puravaka parambas being two-thirds and one-fourth of these rates.

Tirumul-
kazhcha,

As already pointed out, a number of minor cesses used to be levied from land-holders. All these, including house tax, were now abolished, and in lieu thereof a *tirumulkazhcha*, or royalty cess, at the uniform rate of six pies was charged on every rupee of normal land revenue or full State demand due on each holding, whether held on pandaravaka verumpattam, kanam, puravaka, or other favourable tenures.

Inams.

All claims to inams were enquired into and disposed of along with the general settlement operations. They were dealt with in accordance with the rules issued under the Settlement Proclamation, the main principles enunciated therein being as follows :—(1) All grants should be considered either as service grants or as personal or subsistence grants; (2) all personal grants should be treated as conditional, unless an explicit declaration to the contrary was contained in the *Tectturam* (or royal writ) conferring such grants; (3) permission should be granted to enfranchise personal and conditional *karo-hivu* grants on payment of an annual quit-rent; (4) adima and anubhogam grants were to be assessed at pandaravaka kanam rates, if they were hitherto liable to periodical renewal, and at puravaka rates, if otherwise; and (5) all inam lands should be charged with a *tirumulkazhcha* of six pies in the rupee of pandaravaka verumpattam assessment chargeable thereon. The total number of cases enquired into in this manner was 4,276, of which 3,402 grants were confirmed and the rest resumed or otherwise disposed of. The extent of lands settled as inam was 17,277 acres, and the aggregate amount of quit-rent charged on them was Rs. 10,758.

Land reve-
nue assign-
ments.

Claims to assignments of land revenue were enquired into and disposed of in a similar manner. These assignments were either in kind or money, and were made for the performance of some specified service or for the subsistence of certain individuals or for the maintenance of certain institutions. All such assignments were converted into money and made payable from the treasury, the Land Revenue department being relieved of all concern with them. Personal assignments were treated as family or hereditary pensions and brought into the register of such pensions maintained by the Comptroller of

Accounts, while, in lieu of service assignments which were for the performance of certain services in religious and charitable institutions, the fixed scale of expenditure sanctioned for those institutions was raised by a corresponding amount. There were 138 cases of assignments to be dealt with, of which 63 were recognised as personal and 51 as service, involving an annual expenditure of Rs. 6,434 and Rs. 1,187 respectively, while the rest were disallowed or otherwise disposed of.

The average settlement rates for nilams are compared with the average kandezhuttu rates in the subjoined statement, from which it will be seen that the settlement has adjusted the State demand more evenly and more equitably than the kandezhuttu. It is also worthy of note that the higher rates of assessment were charged only on a comparatively limited extent of nilams. Of the nine rates of assessment, only 23 per cent. of the total area were charged with the three highest rates (Rs. 9, 7½ and 6½ per acre), while as much as 61 per cent. of the area were assessed with only rates ranging from Rs. 5½ to Rs. 3½. The remaining 16 per cent. of nilams were charged with a nominal assessment of only one to two and a half rupees per acre.

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The old
and the new
rates.

No.	Taluks	AVERAGE RATE PER ACRE											
		Pandaravaka verumpattam			Pandaravaka kanam			Puravaka					
		Old re- venue demand	Settle- ment demand		Old re- venue demand	Settle- ment demand		Old re- venue demand	Settle- ment demand		Old re- venue demand	Settle- ment demand	
1	Kanayannur ...	Rs. 8 6 9	Rs. 4 14 0		Rs. 7 10 7			Rs. 3 13 5			Rs. 2 3 3		
2	Cochin ...	13 5 9	5 8 1		6 14 1			3 13 8			1 14 9		
3	Mukundapuram ...	3 12 3	3 9 11		6 4 3			3 1 0			2 12 8		
4	Trichur ...	7 4 2	4 6 3		7 11 3			3 9 4			2 12 8		
5	Talapilli ...	7 9 2	5 14 0		9 3 9			5 4 10			3 7 4		
6	Chittur (lands under Sirkar irrigation)		7 1 0					6 3 11					
	„ (Do. not under do.) ...	4 8 0			5 7 0						3 2 0		
			5 7 1					4 7 8					
7	Kodungallur ...	12 8 5	4 1 1		1 12 0			4 0 1			5 13 9		
	STATE ...	6 0 5	4 9 4		6 1 7			5 2 10			2 13 10		

As regards parambas, assessment at the highest rate (three and a half annas) was charged only on 11 per cent. of cocoanut area, while as much as 49 per cent. or nearly half the area were

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assessed with the lowest rate of one anna per tree. The remaining 40 per cent. were charged in equal proportions with the second and third rates of assessment, *viz.*, three and two annas per tree respectively.

The financial result of the new settlement was an increase of Rs. 3,17,093, or 45 per cent., in the total land revenue. The increase was not due to the imposition of any higher rates of assessment but to the great increase in the area under occupation and in the number of taxable trees. * On the other hand, considering the enormous rise in the price of paddy and of the produce of taxable trees, the Government could have claimed with perfect justice a much larger share of the produce as its due. The subjoined statement shows talukwar the old revenue and survey extent of nilams and parambas and the assessment according to the revenue accounts and the new settlement:—

No.	TALUKS	EXTENT				REVENUE DEMAND			SETTLEMENT DEMAND			Difference in demand	Percentage of increase
		NILAM		PARAMBA		NILAM	PARAMBA	TOTAL	NILAM	PARAMBA	TOTAL		
		Revenue	Survey	Revenue	Survey								
		Acre	Acre	Acre	Acre								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Kanayannur ..	12012	19836	23690	27456	41133	28119	72552	57813	51081	108897	26345	50
2	Cochin ..	9827	11704	10192	13757	14872	55929	100801	41340	32797	124137	23366	23
3	Mukundapuram.	30011	51539	62735	67201	102317	27191	129538	151626	60100	214726	82188	63
4	Trichur ..	29168	48336	31599	45295	121674	16508	138182	147597	16548	188115	49963	36
5	Talappilli ..	23979	40529	48713	68202	106613	12553	119166	150688	30147	180835	61667	52
6	Chittur ...	19266	28074	42037	45719	99110	15320	114460	115049	25368	170117	56957	19
7	Kodungallur ...	2158	2916	5505	6551	11350	11966	23316	9882	27569	36951	7635	26
	Total ...	126421	205794	221071	271181	333129	170886	704015	703195	317613	1021108	317093	45

Concluding
remarks.

The new settlement has systematised and simplified the land revenue system of the State to a remarkable extent, and it has been introduced with a smoothness and despatch worthy of all praise. A large number of minor imposts have been abolished; the periodical renewal of leases and the levy of renewal fees have been done away with; the multiplicity of land tenures with their complex legal incidents have been replaced by four well defined classes of holdings; the incidence of land tax has been distributed as evenly as is humanly practicable; proprietary right in the soil has been conferred on the holders of pandaravaka verumputtam and kanam lands; and over three lakhs of rupees have

* Coconut trees have increased by 89 per cent., areca by 172 per cent. and jack by 81 per cent. since the kandezhuttu of 1032.

been permanently added to the revenue of the State. The State owes this scheme of settlement, so fair and equitable to all parties, and at the same time so strikingly simple, to Mr. Pattabhirama Rau's remarkable grasp of land revenue questions and his great experience in settlement work, and its smooth and successful introduction to the unique local knowledge, revenue experience and tact of Mr. V. K. Raman Menon.

CHAP. X.
THE
VILLAGE
SYSTEM.

The nature of the early village organisation of Cochin, as of the West Coast generally, has been already indicated more than once. The best account is that given by Sir Thomas Munro in 1817 after making personal enquiries in Malabar, and as it is in substantial accord with the result of my own researches, it is quoted below in full.

Old village
organisation.

"All lands except those set apart for religious purposes were held (so far as the State was concerned) on military tenure, * * every little subdivision of territory, instead of being called a district of so many thousand pagodas, being called one of the so many thousand men * * . The districts (nads) were divided into villages (desams) under hereditary chiefs, whose duties, making allowance for the military nature of the government, did not essentially differ from those of the district village officials of other countries. The headman of the desam was called the desavazhi or the jannimwar (janmi) according as he enjoyed the whole or only a part of the rights which were supposed necessary to the constituting the complete chief of the desam. These rights were as follows:—

"1. The Ambalapathi or the direction of the religious ceremonies of the village pagodas.

"2. The Urayma or the management of the pagoda lands and servants.

"3. Desam or the control of marriages and all village ceremonies, none of which could be performed without his leave.

"4. Desadhipati or the general superintendence of all offences of the desam or village.

"When the head of the village possessed all these rights, he was the desavazhi: when he wanted the ambalapathi and urayma, but had the other two, he was the janmi of the village. These rights where they existed could not be separated. The direction of the civil, religious and military affairs of the village were always vested in the same person.

"There was a desavazhi to every village, except where the village was the private property of the chief of the district called the naduvazhi, or of the Raja; but in most of the villages which the Rajas had acquired the property of by purchase, the old desavazhis still retained their office. Where there was no desavazhi, the Raja employed an officer called Pravarthikar as the manager of one or more villages according to their size.

"The desavazhi had the direction of all the affairs of the village; all orders regarding them were sent to him to be carried into effect. Where there was no regular land rent, he could not have much employment as a revenue officer; but he assisted in the collection of occasional contributions as well as of fines, forfeitures and other dues of Government. He was the military chief of the village and marched at the head of its quota when ordered to the field, and he had the direction of the police, and the power of deciding petty suits. In police and judicial matters he was aided by two or three respectable inhabitants who were called Pramanis.

CHAP. X.
THE
VILLAGE
SYSTEM.

"There were usually from one to five or six Pramanis to a desam or village, but in some villages none. They had no regular appointment, nor were they hereditary. They were of all the superior castes—Nambudiris, Nayars, Tiyyars, Chettis and Mappilas—but chiefly Nayars; any respectable man in the village who was considered as more intelligent than his neighbours, and who was on that account resorted to by the inhabitants for the adjustment of their little differences, gradually acquired among them the title of Pramani. * * The desavazhi had no village Kurnam, the nature of the revenue did not require an officer of that kind. The accounts of the collections were kept by district servants, employed by the naduvazhi or acting immediately under the Raja. He had none of the inferior village servants such as peons, thottis and talaris, so common in other provinces. The officer next above the desavazhi, and placed between him and the Raja, was the naduvazhi or the chief of the nad or district. He was a kind of district desavazhi in the village. He claimed to hold office by a tenure as ancient as that of any of the present Rajas, and to have derived it from the Nambudiri Brahmins or from the same former conqueror, from whom they derived their rights. He was sometimes the desavazhi of every village in his district, and sometimes of only one or two, the rest being held by desavazhi or by the Raja as part of his domains.

"The naduvazhi collected the ordinary and extra revenue, and in that duty he was assisted by one, two or more accountants called Putwallis. The naduvazhi was the military chief of his district and was bound to attend the Raja in the field or march wherever he was directed, with all the fighting men of his district under the desavazhis or heads of their respective villages".

Change of
system.

The village system remained substantially as described above till 1762, when the *Naduvazhis* and *Desavazhis* were deprived of their administrative and military powers. The State was then divided into ten *Kovilakattumvatalis* or Taluks, each of which was placed under a *Karyakar* and the Taluks were further divided into about thirty *Pravrittis*. The *Pravritti*, which thus became the unit of administration, consisted of a number of desams and was placed under an officer called *Parvatyakaran*. This officer was responsible not only for the collection of all items of revenue but also for the preservation of law and order and for the general welfare of his *Pravritti*. To assist him in his work, he had under him one or more *Menons*, or accountants, and a *Chandrakaran*, or cash-keeper, and in all matters he had authority to requisition the gratuitous help of the *Pramanakkars* of the desam under him. This arrangement continued till Colonel Munro's time, when, with the appointment of Tannadars, Chowkadars and Forest Vicharippukars, the *Pravritti* officers were relieved of all police, customs and forest work, and their duties were confined to the collection of land revenue and miscellaneous administrative work. No further changes were made in the constitution or functions of the *Pravritti* staff till the new survey and settlement, except that some

of the larger Pravrittis were at different times split up into two for administrative convenience. There were 44 Pravrittis just before the introduction of the new settlement.

CHAP. X.
THE
VILLAGE
SYSTEM.

The average area of a Pravritti being about twenty square miles, it was found to be too extensive and unwieldy a unit of administration, and advantage was taken of the survey to split it up into a number of villages, each covering an average area of three square miles. The State was thus divided into 273 villages, but as the revenue demand of most of the villages was found too small to afford sufficient work to a separate village staff, they were clubbed into 165 villages for revenue purposes. A Parvatyakaran is in charge of each village, with a Menon or accountant and two Masapidis or peons to assist him.

Villages.

Village officers were from very early times authorised to compel the ryots under them to supply provisions to the palace, temples and *Uttupuras*, and to render gratuitous service on the occasion of the Raja's tours, palace ceremonies, temple festivals, etc. This system of *uzhiyam* or gratuitous service was a source of great hardship to the people, and remained in full till the time of Diwan Sankunni Menon, who modified it considerably in 1866. It was then ordered "that all supplies for the palace, *Uttupuras* and other public institutions should ordinarily be procured in the market and that on special occasions, when it may be found necessary to collect such supplies from the ryots through the agency of the village officials, they should be paid for at the market rates, and that the coolies and others employed on Sirkar works should receive such rates of hire as they would obtain if employed by private individuals. The *uzhiyam* service has thus been divested of its most objectionable features, and it is proposed gradually to abolish it altogether".* This system however did not require any further abolition as, with the introduction of new Regulations and the improvement in judicial administration, it died a natural death a few years later.

Uzhiyam
service.

In 1762 the State was divided into twelve Taluks, the names of which are given in the margin. Colonel Munro reduced the number to ten by amalgamating Mullurkara with Parattuvithi and Kodakaranad with Naludesam, the amalgamated Taluks being called Cholakkara and Chittur respectively. In 1860, Kodasseri was amalgamated with

TALUK AND
DIVISION
CHARGES.

Taluks.

- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|---|
| 1. Cochin. | 7. Trichur. | names of which are given in the margin. Colonel Munro reduced the number to ten by amalgamating Mullurkara with Parattuvithi and Kodakaranad with Naludesam, the amalgamated Taluks being called Cholakkara and Chittur respectively. In 1860, Kodasseri was amalgamated with |
| 2. Kanayannur. | 8. Talapilli. | |
| 3. Cranganur. | 9. Mullurkara. | |
| 4. Kodasseri. | 10. Parattuvithi. | |
| 5. Mukundapuram. | 11. Kodakaranad. | |
| 6. Enamakkal. | 12. Naludesam. | |

* Administration Report for 1011 M. E.

CHAP. X.
TALUK AND
DIVISION
CHARGES.

Mukundapuram, Enamakkal with Trichur, and Chelakkara with Talapilli, and in 1907, Cochin and Kanayannur were joined into one Taluk. There are thus six Taluks now including Cranganur. A *Karyakar*, assisted by a chief account officer called *Tirumukham*, was originally placed in charge of each Taluk, and was invested with authority in all matters pertaining to administration. In 1813, however, he was made a purely revenue officer and divested of all other powers. In 1818, the designation of *Karyakar* was changed into *Tahsildar* and that of *Tirumukham* into *Samprati*. The *Tahsildars* were also made police officers in 1833 with very limited magisterial powers, and on the passing of the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes in 1884, they were made second class Magistrates. In 1907 the revenue and magisterial functions were separated, and the *Tahsildars* became purely revenue officers as in the time of Colonel Munro. The *Tahsildars* had all along had charge of all the minor *Devasvams* of the *Sirkar*, but in September 1909, they were relieved of this work by a newly created staff of *Devasvam Inspectors*.

Divisions.

For administrative purposes, the State was divided in 1762 into the *Vadakke Mukham* and *Tekke Mukham*, or the Northern and the Southern divisions, each under a *Sarvadhikaryakar*, who had authority in all matters over the *Karyakars* in the division. These offices were abolished in 1813, and the *Karyakars* were placed under the direct orders of the *Diwan*. In 1822 the appointment of *Diwan Peishkar* was created, but he was given no independent or divisional charge at the time, but did duty as an assistant to the *Diwan*. In fact, the appointment was now and then left unfilled; during a year or two of the administrations of Seshagiri Rau and Sankara Menon, eleven years of Sankara Variyar's and throughout Venkata Rau's administration, there was no *Diwan Peishkar* at all. In 1860, the *Diwan Peishkar* was placed in charge of the northern division, but the southern division continued to be under the direct charge of the *Diwan* till 1878, when a *Deputy Peishkar* was appointed to be in charge of it. These officers had the same powers, revenue and magisterial, notwithstanding the difference in their designations; and in 1895 therefore they were designated *Division Peishkars*. With the separation of revenue and magisterial functions in 1907, the *Division Peishkarships* were abolished, and a *Diwan Peishkar* appointed to be in charge of the land revenue administration of the whole State, a single *District Magistrate* being similarly placed in charge of the magisterial administration.

CHAPTER XI.

RELIGIOUS AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

DEVASVAMS: Their former position—Minor Devasvams—Assumption of Devasvams by the State—Incorporated Devasvams—Unincorporated Devasvams Administration of Devasvams—Devasvam lands—Finances—Investigation of Devasvam administration—Reorganisation and reform—CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS: Uttapurams—Their number and cost—Water pandals—Other charities.

THE more important Devasvams or Hindu religious institutions formerly enjoyed a position very different from what they occupy in modern times. They were independent corporations which, like some Catholic churches in Europe during the middle ages, exercised through their ecclesiastical heads temporal as well as spiritual authority in their respective *Sanketams* or domains. The general control over the temples and their domains was vested in a body of *Uralars* or trustees, who were generally *Gramani* Namburis, a class of military Brahmans not privileged to read or recite the Vedas, but the executive authority was generally exercised by chiefs elected and consecrated by certain bodies of Vedic Namburis called *Yogams*.^{*} These ecclesiastical heads enjoyed the powers of *Nadurazhi* chiefs, including those of life and death, over the people living in the *Sanketams*, but their powers were to some extent limited by the general control of *Uralars* and *Yogams*. Whether these corporations derived their authority from the sovereigns of undivided Kerala or whether it was wrested from or conceded by the Rajas who ruled over Kerala after its dismemberment is not known, but there can be no doubt that the Rajas practically exercised little or no authority over the temples and their *Sanketams*. In the course of time, however, the religious corporations appear to have been driven to the necessity of invoking

^{*} For example, the *Yogatiripad*, elected and consecrated by the Trichur Namburi *Yogam*, was the executive head of the Vadakumnathan Devasvam, and that of Perumanam was a similar dignitary chosen by the Perumanam *Yogam*.

CHAP. XI. the protection or aid of the Rajas owing probably to internal
 DEVASVAMS. dissensions or to the aggressiveness of neighbouring chiefs, and
 they accordingly conferred on the Rajas, not always on those
 within whose territories the Sanketams lay, the *Koyma* or chief-
 ship over the Devasvams or certain specified concerns of theirs.*
 It was in this manner that the Rajas came to be associated
 with the Devasvams and their administration, but notwith-
 standing this connection, the religious corporations retained
 their authority in spiritual and temporal matters practically
 unimpaired for a long time. It was only about the middle of
 the eighteenth century that their temporal power was entirely
 broken up.

Minor De- The status and privileges above indicated were enjoyed
 vasvams. only by some very important Devasvams. The other Devasvams
 were simply places of public worship founded and endowed
 by individuals or communities and managed by Uralars, or
 hereditary trustees, directly or through *Samudayams*, or mana-
 gers, whose office was sometimes personal but oftener heredi-
 tary. The Uralars were in some cases the founders themselves,
 but in others they acquired their right by delegation or purchase
 or otherwise. Some of these were more or less well endowed,
 while the others were maintained chiefly with the offerings
 received from worshippers. The Rajas exercised sovereign
 jurisdiction over these institutions, but seldom interfered with
 their management.

Assumption of Devasvams by the State. The first time that the State assumed the direct manage-
 ment of Devasvams to any considerable extent was after the
 last invasion and partial conquest of Cochin by the Zamorin in
 the middle of the eighteenth century, when many of the chiefs
 of Cochin transferred their allegiance to the Zamorin. After
 the final expulsion of that prince in 1762, the chiefs were di-
 vested of their administrative powers, and the properties of the
 renegades were, in some cases partially and in others wholly,
 confiscated by the Sirkar. As almost all the chiefs were Ura-
 lars or managers of a number of Devasvams, these latter came

* A Raja was made the *Aka-koyma* (literally, inner lord) or *Pura-koyma* (outer lord) or *Mel-koyma* (over lord) of a Devasvam. In the first case his power was limited to the spiritual concerns of the Devasvam including the conduct of temple service and in the second to its temporal concerns including the administration of its lands, while in the third he had overlordship in all matters. In some instances, the Devasvam had only an *Aka-koyma* or a *Pura-koyma* or a *Mel-koyma*, and in others any combination of these three. Where there were more *Koymas* than one, they were generally different Rajas. See Chapter XV -Adur. Elamkunnappuzhi, Irinjalakuda, Perumanam, Tiruvil-vamala and Trichur.

under the direct management of the State. The corporations of the major Devasvams were also, like the chiefs, deprived of their sovereign powers, and the management of most of them was assumed by the State either because some of the members of the corporations joined the Zamorin and acted against Cochin, or because in the troublous times that followed, the managers found themselves unequal to the task of administering their affairs satisfactorily and consequently surrendered them to the Raja. Several minor Devasvams were subsequently taken over by the State owing to their mismanagement by incompetent or dishonest Uralars. Thus, by the time the State came under British supremacy, it had a large number of Devasvams under its direct management.

CHAP. XI.
DEVASVAMS.

The several Devasvams that thus came under the Sirkar were treated as isolated units, and were placed under the management of petty officers, who, taking advantage of the lax administration of those days, mismanaged the affairs of these institutions and enriched themselves at their expense. This created wide-spread dissatisfaction among the people, and when therefore Colonel Munro assumed charge of the administration of the State, he devoted special attention to the subject. A thorough personal investigation satisfied him that the complaints of the people were well founded, and with a view to place their administration on a satisfactory footing he proposed the unification of the interests of the Sirkar and those of the Devasvams by treating all Devasvam property as Sirkar property, merging all Devasvam receipts in the general revenues of the State and paying from the public treasury all Devasvam expenses according to a fixed scale. He appointed a committee to overhaul all Devasvam accounts, to prepare accurate registers of Devasvam properties, and to prescribe, in consultation with the high priests and in accordance with existing usages, a *pathiru* or fixed scale of expenditure for the daily, monthly and yearly ceremonies of each temple and for the remuneration of temple servants. The committee completed their labours and Colonel Munro's proposals were given effect to between 1814 and 1818. The Devasvams, whose revenues and expenditure were thus completely merged in the general revenues and expenditure of the State, are locally designated "Incorporated" Devasvams, to distinguish them from the class of Devasvams referred to below.

Incorporated
Devasvams.

About twenty-five years after the incorporation of these Devasvams, two well endowed temples were surrendered to the

Unincorporated
Devasvams.

CHAP. XI.
DEVASVAMS.

Sirkar by the Uralars owing to their incapacity to manage their affairs properly. These Devasvams however were not for some unexplained reasons treated as Colonel Munro treated those that were under Sirkar management in his time. Their properties and receipts were not amalgamated with those of the State but were kept separate, and their expenditure was met from those receipts. Subsequent to this several other Devasvams of this kind came under the management of the Sirkar from time to time for similar reasons, and were treated in the same manner. As these institutions are independent of each other as well as of Sirkar Devasvams, they are called "Unincorporated" Devasvams. The number of Devasvams of this kind is likely to increase steadily in the future by the operation of the Hindu Religious Institutions Regulation, which was passed in 1905 and by which the Darbar has taken power to assume the management of Devasvams for proved mismanagement by their Uralars.

Admini-
stration of
Devasvams.

There were under Sirkar management 149 incorporated Devasvams, with 93 minor ones subordinate to the more important of them, and 26 unincorporated Devasvams, with 66 institutions subordinate to them. The three most important of the former and all but four or five of the least important of the latter were each in the charge of a special responsible officer working directly under the Diwan, while the rest were administered singly or in groups by petty officers under the Taluk Tahsildars, the latter taking their orders direct from the Diwan. In 1895 the Tahsildars and other Devasvam officers were placed under the supervision of the Division Peishkars, but it was soon found that the latter, with their multifarious duties, could not devote sufficient time to their Devasvam work. Two years later therefore the department was placed under the control of a full-time officer designated Superintendent of Devasvams and Uttupuras. The several Devasvams were administered as isolated units without mutual co-operation or co-ordination, and not as inter-dependent and component parts of an organised department. This system was in no way affected by the appointment of a departmental head. Some of the incorporated Devasvams were more than self-supporting, but the majority of them had no property of any kind and were maintained out of the surplus receipts of the former or from the general revenues of the State.

Devasvam
lands.

The incorporated Devasvams own landed property to the extent of 33,249 acres, of which 7,265 acres are in

Malabar, 298 in Travancore and the rest in Cochin. In all the land revenue settlements since Colonel Munro's time the Devasvam lands within the State were assessed nearly in the same manner as pandaravaka lands and the assessment levied in money at the same commutation rates. According to the recent settlement, the rent due to the Devasvams on their lands within the State is Rs. 69,160. The extent of the unincorporated Devasvam lands is 22,556 acres, of which 2,312 acres are in Malabar and 1,101 in Travancore. These lands, and those of incorporated Devasvams outside the State, are held in janmam and are subject to all the incidents and tenures of private janmam lands.

CHAP. XI.
DEVASVAMS.

When a fixed scale of expenditure was laid down under the orders of Colonel Munro, the aggregate receipts of the incorporated Devasvams more than covered the ordinary expenditure. But the settlement of Devasvam lands like other Sirkar lands and the levy of rent at a fixed commutation rate made the income of the department almost stationary, while owing to the gradual rise in the price of paddy and other provisions indispensably necessary for temple purposes, the expenditure gradually increased. From 1855 the expenditure began steadily to exceed the receipts, and during the past few years this excess payable

Finances.

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
1081	98,493	156,562
1082	93,051	142,006
1083	107,745	158,838
1084	106,510	170,449

from the general revenues amounted on an average to over half a lakh of rupees per annum, as shown in the margin. Part of this excess was no doubt due to incorrect credits and debits in the accounts of certain items of receipts and expenditure, but a substantial sum still remained to be paid out of the general revenues. On the other hand, all the unincorporated Devasvams were self-supporting, while the majority of them had incomes considerably exceeding the expenditure. Their aggregate normal receipts amounted to nearly two and a half lakhs of rupees and their expenditure to nearly two lakhs per annum, and they had a balance to their credit of twelve lakhs of rupees. There was thus a great disparity in the financial position of the two classes of Devasvams.

The arrangements made by Colonel Munro for the administration of incorporated Devasvams remained practically untouched for over ninety years, and consequently their administration latterly became inefficient and out of date. The difference made in the treatment of the Devasvams that subsequently came under Sirkar management complicated matters and

Investigation
of Devasvam
administra-
tion.

CHAP. XI.
DEVASVAMS.

considerably increased the difficulties experienced in Devasvam administration in recent years. With a view therefore to place this branch of administration on a satisfactory footing and to make it self-supporting as far as possible, the Darbar deputed a Special Officer in August 1907 to make an exhaustive investigation of Devasvam administration in all its aspects and submit proposals for its improvement. The investigation was accordingly carried out, and the necessary proposals were submitted early in 1908.

Reorgani-
sation and
reform.

The Darbar thereupon devised a completely new scheme of Devasvam administration, and brought it into force in September 1909. The following are the main features of the scheme. All Devasvams under Sirkar management, incorporated and unincorporated, were amalgamated, and constituted into a separate endowment, the several Devasvams being thus made component and inter-dependent parts of a whole, instead of being the isolated units that they were. This involved the restoration of the properties and monies of such of the institutions as were annexed to the Sirkar nearly a century ago and the creation of a separate trust fund. For administrative purposes the Devasvams were divided into four groups, and the funds of each group were clubbed together with a view to give it an independent existence and a financial status of its own. The receipts and expenditure of the Devasvams were entirely separated from the general revenues, but the Devasvams are allowed to bank with the State treasuries. The *pathivu* or customary scale of expenditure on account of the daily, monthly and annual ceremonies in all the Devasvams was revised on certain definite principles, and a uniform system of collection of revenue, control of expenditure and maintenance of accounts was introduced. The Land Revenue department was relieved of all Devasvam work except the collection of rent of the institutions hitherto designated as incorporated, and a separate executive staff was created, for the administration of the department, consisting of an Inspector for each group and a fifth for the administration of the Devasvam lands in British Malabar, the Superintendent with increased pay and enlarged powers continuing to be the head of the department. Finally, the scheme in its administrative and financial aspects was legalised by a Proclamation issued by His Highness the Raja.

CHARIT-
ABLE INSTI-
TUTIONS.

Although some of the *Uttupuras* or feeding houses for Brahmins are of recent origin, others have been in existence from time immemorial. It could not be otherwise in a Hindu

State, as the gratuitous feeding of Brahmans is enjoined by Manu and other law-givers. These institutions appear to have been originally intended for giving free meals to way-worn travellers : the feeding of permanent residents was a later development. In some Uttupuras, morning meals were given to residents as well as travellers and evening meals to travellers alone, and in others the arrangement was reversed ; in some, only one meal was given, while in the Uttupura at Tripunittura all Brahmans were fed both morning and evening. Some of these institutions are endowed ones, but it is not known whether all of them are so. As all the endowments have long been merged in the general State balance, they now appear as if they are maintained altogether out of the general revenues of the State.

Till 1902 there were fifteen such feeding houses maintained by the State. In the reorganisation of these institutions in that year, three Uttupuras, which became practically useless owing to the introduction of the railway, were abolished, a new one was established near the Pudukad railway station, the feeding was confined to *bona-fide* travellers in all Uttupuras except those at Tripunittura and Pazhayannur, where in the morning the residents also are fed, and in the Karupadamma feeding house the morning meal was discontinued. There are thus thirteen Uttupuras now in existence, which cost the Sirkar nearly half a lakh of rupees per annum. Besides these, there are half a dozen Uttupuras in the State maintained by private individuals, and a fixed number of Brahmans are also fed every day in some of the more important temples under Sirkar management.

The State is everywhere dotted over with water pandals, where butter-milk flavoured with salt and lime juice or curry leaves is gratuitously served to way-worn travellers during the hot season. Such pandals have been in existence from very early times, for in the fourteenth century Ibn Batuta found them at " the distance of every half mile ". The description given by him of the water pandals of his time corresponds exactly with those of the present day.* There are hundreds of such institutions in the country, of which 81 are maintained by the Sirkar at a cost of over Rs. 2,000 per annum, and the rest by private individuals.

A *Satram* is maintained by the Darbar at Benares and another at Rameswaram at an annual cost of Rs. 1,200 and Rs. 500 respectively. Twelve Brahmans are daily fed in the

CHAP. XI.
CHARIT-
ABLE INSTI-
TUTIONS.
—
Uttupuras.

Their number
and cost.

Water
pandals.

Other
charities.

* See p. 59, ante.

CHAP. XI. former and six in the latter. Since 1820 the Sirkar had been
CHARIT- spending nearly a hundred rupees a month in feeding the poor
ABLE INSTI- at Mattancheri; but when a Friend-in-Need Society was esta-
TUTIONS. — bished in British Cochin in 1855, this amount was, on the
recommendation of the Resident, transferred to that Society
as a monthly contribution in aid of it, and is still being paid
regularly.

CHAPTER XII.

SALT, ABKARI AND MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE.

MONOPOLY SYSTEM—SALT: Old system—Present system—Fish-curing
—ABKARI: Present system—Opium and ganga—TOBACCO: Monopoly system
—Licensing system—Present system—MISCELLANEOUS: Customs—Pepper—
Excise administration—Financial.

THE system of State monopoly of articles of trade appears to have been unknown here before the sixteenth century. It was the competition of European nations for the pepper trade of the country that brought the system into existence as being advantageous to all parties concerned and, after the Dutch ousted the Portuguese from Cochin, the pepper monopoly was made more rigid and guarded more jealously than before. The people had to sell to the Raja at a fixed price all the pepper that they grew, and the Raja sold it to the Dutch according to agreements which were revised from time to time. By this arrangement, the Dutch got all the pepper produced in the country, the Raja made a substantial profit by the transaction, and the subjects found a ready sale for their produce. As the monopoly system was also found to be a convenient one for raising revenue, and as the expenses of administration considerably increased in the latter half of the eighteenth century, tobacco also was made an article of State monopoly towards the end of that century and salt in the beginning of the next.

Before salt was made a Sirkar monopoly in 1810, no restriction was placed on its manufacture and sale. A small assessment was levied upon the lands used as salt pans, of which there were hundreds in the sea-board tracts and in the back-water islands. When the monopoly system was first introduced, the manufacturers were required to sell to the Sirkar all the salt that they produced at about two annas per maund, and the Sirkar stored it in its bankshalls and sold it to the consumers at

MONOPOLY
SYSTEM.

SALT.
Old system.

CHAP. XII.
SALT.

four to six annas per maund. As the salt manufactured in the State was not sufficient to meet the local demand, a quantity of that article used in those days—probably from the times of the Portuguese—to be imported from Goa, but the importation was now limited to the quantity required by the Sirkar, and it used to be made exclusively by Sirkar agents. About the year 1840 a portion of the salt required began to be imported from Bombay, and fifteen years later the importation of salt from Goa was altogether given up, and all the quantity required for supplementing the local produce began to be brought down from Bombay.

Present
system.

The above system continued in force till 1865, when, under the Interportal Trade Convention,* it gave place to the present system. The selling price of salt in Cochin having been lower than that in British Malabar, the smuggling of Cochin salt into that district became very rife, so much so that the loss to British revenue by the introduction of Cochin salt was estimated in 1860 at one and a half lakhs of rupees per annum. At the instance of the Madras Government therefore the Darbar agreed in 1865 to adopt the British selling price, and to raise the rates at inland depots so as to place Malabar and Cochin salt on the same footing in the market. Cochin was to import salt from Bombay on the same terms as those on which it was imported into British Indian ports, and since then the selling prices in Cochin have followed the successive stages in the rate of duty in British territory. The duty at the time of the Convention was two rupees and a half per maund, which was reduced to two rupees in March 1903 and by another eight annas in 1905. The reduction of duty has considerably raised the consumption, but not to such an extent as to make up altogether for the loss of revenue caused by it. Since the Convention the State has been obtaining its supplies of salt from Bombay through a contractor. The salt is brought by country craft, and stored in the central depot at Malipuram, whence it is sold, with the duty imposed, either direct to merchants or through the agency of Sirkar bankshalls, of which there are sixteen now in existence.

Fish-curing.

As the administration of salt revenue has a close bearing on the fish-curing industry, some reference to the latter will not be out of place here. Though this industry is of great economic importance, it has till recently received no encouragement or guidance from Government. According to the Special Officer

* For the terms of this Convention, see p. 178.

who conducted a fisheries investigation in 1908-9, the methods of curing employed by the local fishermen are primitive, unscientific and unclean. The Government have however now taken up the matter, and have sanctioned the construction of fish-curing yards at Narakal. The operations in the yards will be under the control of the officers of the Salt department, and it is proposed to give every encouragement to fishermen to bring their catches to the yards for the purpose of curing and drying them. The sale of salt at ten annas a maund, or practically duty-free, has also been sanctioned for curing purposes.

The levy of a tax on intoxicating liquors, unlike that of the salt tax, dates from early times, but it is not known when it began. At first it appears to have been a sort of profession tax levied from drawers of toddy and distillers of arrack, known as *katti chatti*, knife and still tax. This was changed about the year 1812 by Colonel Munro, who introduced the farming system in the Cochin and Kanayannur Taluks and the levy of a duty on toddy and arrack in the other Taluks. During Nanjappayya's administration the farming system was introduced into the other Taluks of the State as well.

The farming system, or the system by which the privileges of manufacture and sale of toddy and arrack are conjointly farmed out to a contractor, has remained in force ever since. At present the several Taluks of the State are farmed out annually or for longer periods to one or more contractors. In the southern Taluks the contractor is permitted to open as many shops, depots and distilleries as appear to him necessary, and to exercise full control over the sale of toddy and arrack. But in the northern Taluks, namely, Chittur, Talapilli and Trichur, which adjoin British territory, the manufacture and sale of cocoanut toddy arrack is prohibited, the whole area being supplied only with molasses or jaggery arrack manufactured at a central distillery. In these Taluks the number of toddy and arrack shops is also strictly limited with reference to the area and population and to the number of shops existing in the adjoining British territory, and in all shops within a two-mile belt along the British frontier, arrack and toddy have to be sold at the rates prevailing in the British frontier shops. There are also several other restrictions in force: these Taluks are thus being prepared for the introduction of the British excise system. In the southern Taluks, the old system still continues, and no material change can be effected there so long as the present system of Abkari administration is in force

CHAP. XII.
SALT.

ABKARI.

Present
system.

CHAP. XII. in the northern Taluks of Travancore. Under the Abkari Regulation the State has the right to regulate the tapping of trees for jaggery. At present a small annual fee is charged for every tree tapped, and the Excise department arranges for the marking and licensing of all such trees.

Opium and ganja. Opium and ganja were made Sirkar monopolies only in 1861. They are farmed out in a manner similar to that of the Abkari revenue. These farms are put up to auction either annually or once every two years, and the combined farms are generally held by a single contractor. The State receives only the rental for the monopoly of the sale, and does not levy any duty on the drugs. The drugs are imported duty paid from Madras, and sold to the contractor at cost price, the contractor retailing these to the consumers and making his own profit.

TOBACCO. Towards the close of the eighteenth century tobacco was made a State monopoly in Coimbatore and Malabar, when it was made a monopoly also in Cochin. Till then import and transit duties used to be levied on the articles. After it was made a Sirkar monopoly, the State used to purchase the required quantity of tobacco duty free from the growers of the article in Coimbatore through the Collector of that District. The tobacco so purchased was warehoused in the Sirkar bankshalls and sold to consumers at a large profit. Tobacco thus brought in a large revenue annually to the State, but when the monopoly was abolished in Coimbatore and Malabar in 1853, tobacco began to be smuggled extensively into Cochin, and the State began to suffer a serious loss in its revenue from this source, which fell suddenly from 225 to 83 thousand rupees. Since this period the monopoly ceased to be worth the trouble that its maintenance entailed, and consequently, when the Interportal Trade Convention was entered into 1865, the State agreed to abolish the tobacco monopoly, and the British Government to compensate the Darbar by guaranteeing an import duty on tobacco of not less than Rs. 10,500 every year.

Licensing system. When the tobacco monopoly was abolished, the Government did not allow its unrestricted import and sale. Those who wished to import or sell tobacco were required to take out licenses, of which there were three classes. The first class licensees, who had to pay a fee of Rs. 50 per annum, had the right of import and retail sale, while the other two classes, which had to pay respectively Rs. 20 and Rs. 10, had no right of import but only of retail sale, the former in towns and the latter in villages, and had to purchase what they required from first class licensees.

From the beginning of 1084 M. E. (August 1908), the above system was replaced by an auction system. The number of tobacco shops to be opened in the several Taluks was fixed beforehand with reference to local requirements, and the right to open these shops was sold by auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. The shops were divided into two classes—A class and B class—the former have the right of import and of sale to B class shops, while the latter have only the right of retail sale and are required to purchase all their tobacco from A class shops. As a result of this change, the tobacco revenue has increased at a bound about sixfold.

CHAP. XII.
TOBACCO.

Present
system.

Till 1865 the State used to levy inland customs duties on a large number of articles, but in that year, under the Interportal Trade Convention, all inland duties were abolished, but on all imports and exports by sea duties began to be levied just in the same manner as they are at British inland ports. Any revenue so derived however is handed over to the British Government, and the State receives as compensation from that Government a moiety of the customs receipts of British Cochin, subject to a minimum of a lakh of rupees, and an import duty on tobacco of not less than Rs. 10,500. The State however levies its own port dues on vessels anchored off Narakal and Malipuram.

MISCEL-
LANEOUS.

Customs.

Pepper, which had been a valuable State monopoly for centuries, ceased to be of much account since the time of Tipu, who destroyed pepper vines wholesale in the northern Taluks, which were the best pepper producing parts of the State. The question of its abolition used therefore to be discussed off and on since 1835, but it was finally abolished only in 1860. A duty of Rs. 15 per candy was however levied on all pepper exported from the State: this duty was reduced to Rs. 9 in 1868 and was finally abolished in 1884.

Pepper.

All the revenues dealt with in this chapter used to be administered under the direct orders of the Diwan; the administration therefore did not receive that close supervision that it would have received from a departmental head, nor did it keep pace with the progress made by the other departments in organisation and efficiency. In 1893 therefore the Salt department was placed under a full-time Superintendent, the other departments continuing to work directly under the Diwan. Seven years later the loan of services of a British Excise officer, Mr. H. W. M. Brown, was obtained from the Madras Government for a period of seven years (which was since extended to fourteen),

Excise ad-
ministration.

CHAP. XII.
MISCELLANEOUS.

when all these departments were placed under his supervision. The Superintendent of Excise Revenue is now assisted by an Assistant Superintendent, by a Deputy Superintendent of Customs and a Preventive Force consisting of six Inspectors, twenty-seven Aminadars and one hundred and eighty-five peons. The department had for a long time been considerably handicapped by the absence of special laws to safeguard its revenues, but within the last few years however four Regulations were passed to protect, and regulate the administration of, salt, abkari, opium and tobacco revenues respectively.

Financial. During the eleven years ending with 1085, the aggregate income from these has increased by one and a quarter lakhs of rupees, notwithstanding the great fall in the salt revenue caused by the reduction of duty on salt in 1903 and again in 1905. The details are given below :—

<i>Heads.</i>			<i>1075.</i>	<i>1085.</i>
Salt	...	...	467,967	359,066
Abkari	...	...	115,921	226,131
Opium and ganja	...	...	24,342	14,356
Tobacco	...	..	11,177	117,921
Customs	...	...	110,500	110,516
Total			732,910	858,020

CHAPTER XIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

PRE-BRITISH PERIOD: Mode of administering justice—Punishment—Trial by ordeal—Proceedings against debtors—An eighteenth century account—Caste tribunals—BRITISH PERIOD: Colonel Munro's reforms—Early civil courts—Later changes—Present civil courts—Civil procedure—Limitation—Court fees—Stamps—Registration—Pleadings—Volume of litigation—Early criminal courts—The reforms of 1010—Subsequent changes—Present criminal courts—Special Magistrates—Crime—Police—Jails—Military.

ACCORDING to the accounts of mediæval travellers, the Malabar States enjoyed security of private property to a remarkable extent from very early times, however crude the early methods of administering justice may appear to us, accustomed as we are to the complex and elaborate machinery of law of the present day. Writing in the middle of the fourteenth century, Shaik Ibn Batuta said that thieves were unknown among the Malayalis as they put a thief to death "for stealing a single nut or even a grain of seed of any fruit". In this, no doubt, there is the usual exaggeration of travellers, but at the same time it is evident from it that the security of property enjoyed by the people at the time must have struck him very forcibly. Similar favourable testimony is borne by other travellers as well. Abdu-r-razak, a Persian envoy, who visited Malabar in 1442, says: "Security and justice are so firmly established in the city that most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes, which they unload, and unhesitatingly send to the markets and the bazaars, without thinking in the meantime of the necessity of checking the accounts or keeping watch over the goods". Ludovico Di Varthema, an Italian, and Pyrard de Laval, a Frenchman, who visited this coast early in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, both praise the administration of justice and the probity of the merchants in their days.

There was no written code of laws for the guidance of the judges during this period; custom or *maryada*, which was believed to be based more or less on the *Dharma Sastras*, was the

PRE-BRITISH PERIOD.

Mode of administering justice.

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BRITISH
PERIOD.
—

law recognised in the settlement of disputes, civil and criminal. In civil matters, however, if both the parties were Christians or Muhammadans, the custom recognised was the one based on Christian or Muhammadan law, but if one of the parties was a Hindu, the decision was given according to the Hindu law. The king was the fountain of justice, but in administering it he was assisted by his ministers or deputies. In the subordinate *nads* administered by *Svarupi* chiefs, the king's authority in judicial matters was but nominal, as the *Svarupis* themselves had the power of life and death. Petty disputes, both civil and criminal, in the *nads* administered by *Prabhus*, were settled by those chiefs themselves, and in the *nads* directly under the king by the local officers. But all important cases were laid before the king, who, after hearing both parties and the evidence of witnesses in the presence of learned Brahmans versed in Hindu law, gave his decision in consultation with the latter. Civil disputes however were very often referred to arbitration by caste assemblies or by a *panchayat* appointed by the king, while caste offences were generally left to caste assemblies for disposal. The evidence of women and slaves was inadmissible in judicial proceedings. Torture was resorted to to induce the accused to confess their guilt, and sometimes witnesses also were put to the torture to make them speak the truth. If the accused continued persistently to deny their guilt, the complainants could in serious cases require that they should be subjected to trial by ordeal. In less important cases, they could only require the accused to take a solemn oath with many attendant ceremonies in the presence of the idol in an important temple. In civil cases also the plaintiffs could demand a similar oath from the defendants. There were no special court-houses or fixed hours of business for holding judicial enquiries; the courts were supposed to be open at all hours, and enquiries were held wherever the presiding officers happened to be. Lengthened proceedings and voluminous records were unknown to ancient litigation; the enquiries were generally of a summary character, and nothing was reduced to writing except the final decisions.

Punishment.

Death, mutilation, whipping, imprisonment, fine, reduction to slavery and excommunication were the recognised forms of punishment. Capital punishment was awarded to persons convicted of heinous crimes, such as sacrilege, treason, murder, slaying or wounding a Brahman or cow, and robbery. For less serious crimes, mutilation was a very common form of punishment, but of all forms of punishment, fines were the commonest

as the fines levied went to enrich the king and his officers, while imprisonment for a similar reason was the rarest. Minor offences, such as petty thefts, were punished with whipping. Persons belonging to the higher castes were excommunicated for serious caste offences, as also Brahmans convicted of capital offences, while reduction to slavery was the punishment for criminal intimacy between Brahman men and women with low caste women and men, and also for capital crimes committed by women. Capital punishment was carried out by the sword or by impalement; great criminals were however at times caused to be torn asunder by elephants. Hanging came into vogue only after the Mysorean conquest of Malabar. In the case of mutilation, the part of the body which was cut off was generally the nose, the ear and the finger, but in more serious cases, the tongue was cut off or the eyes put out. Persons sentenced to imprisonment were confined in railed cages, where they could neither stand upright nor move about. These cages were generally kept in the court-yards of the palaces. In regard to punishment, the law was not the same for all classes, but varied according to the caste and status of the culprits. Brahmans and noblemen, for instance, were never punished with imprisonment or whipping, nor were Brahmans and women sentenced to capital punishment. If a Nayar killed a low caste man, he was only fined for the first offence, and if he caused grievous hurt to such a man, he had only to maintain him till he recovered from the injury.

Trial by ordeal was very common both in civil and criminal cases, and in the case of excommunication for criminal intimacy with a Namburi woman, this was the only means available to the accused to establish his innocence. The most common form was the ordeal by fire, in which the accused had to pick a coin out of a vessel containing boiling oil or ghee. The arm was then immediately swathed in bandages and sealed up, and on the removal of the bandages three days later, the man was declared guilty nor not guilty according as his arm was found ulcerated or not. Another form of ordeal by fire was holding in the right hand a piece of red-hot iron or pouring molten lead into the palm. The oil or ghee ordeal was usually held in the Suchindrum temple in South Travancore, and the iron and lead ordeal in the Paliyat Acchan's temple at Azhikal (Vaipin). The ordeals were abolished about the year 1814. There were several descriptions of water ordeals, of which only one was common in Cochin. The accused had to swim or wade across the

Trial by
ordeal.

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Proceedings against debtor. A curious custom was prevalent here, which enabled a creditor to arrest a debtor or to seize his property without the intervention of any tribunal. He had only to draw a circle round the debtor and swear by his god and his king that the latter should not move out of the circle without paying his debt or otherwise satisfying his claim. If the debtor moved out of the circle without satisfying the claim, he became an outlaw, and any one was at liberty to kill him. Similarly, property might be seized by planting a few twigs with green leaves on the property concerned with a notice attached thereto, stating that it was the seizure laid by so-and-so on account of a debt due by the owner. If after this any one removed the crops, he would be guilty of a grave crime. If, on the other hand, the arrest or seizure was made by a bogus creditor with a view to worry a man or extort money from him, he would be liable to very serious punishment on the victim proving to the satisfaction of the judges that the debt was not a *bona fide* one. Arrests and seizures of this kind were resorted to by the judges themselves, when they were satisfied that the claim made by a plaintiff was valid.

Nineteenth century account. When in 1762 the chiefs were deprived of their administrative and judicial powers, and local administration was entrusted to a number of Karyakars, no substantial alteration was made in the mode of administering justice, except that the Karyakars were authorised to dispose of petty cases in the same way as the chiefs had done hitherto. In 1793, the then Raja of Cochin furnished the members of the Malabar Joint Commission, at their request, with an account of the administration of justice then in vogue, which is the first authentic account of the kind we have in our records. According to it the Raja personally disposed of, after hearing the parties and witnesses and examining the documents, disputes regarding the execution of documents for the sale of property or, after the sale, regarding

the subject matter thereof. Other disputes arising from dealings between parties or relating to landed property were referred for decision to *panchayats* "composed of four or eight intelligent, experienced and firm men, Brahmans and others", and the Raja gave effect to their decisions if they appeared to him to be just. In the case of grave crimes,* such as manslaughter and highway robbery, a similar procedure was adopted, but cases of hurt, petty thefts and other minor offences were dealt with by the Raja or his officers without the intervention of a *panchayat*. Offences involving loss of caste, such as the sexual misconduct of Brahman women, were to be enquired into by the *Vaidiks* according to the Sastras under the orders of the Raja. Capital punishment was awarded in the case of grave crimes, such as murder and highway robbery: Sudras and native Christians were beheaded, shot or impaled, and men of lower castes were hanged. Less heinous crimes were punished with imprisonment for six months or a year, with whipping, with fine, or with mutilation, according to the gravity of each offence. There were no written codes of law except the books relating to the *Dharma Sastras*, which the *Vaidiks* and *Smartas* brought with them, whenever called upon to decide any question. In the case of caste offences meriting excommunication, Sudras and persons inferior to them in caste could be saved from that penalty by the Raja, if he be a Kshatriya, by presenting to them with his own hands a *kundi* or vessel of water to drink.

One example of investigation by caste tribunals has survived to our own times. It is known as *smarta-richaram*, or enquiry by *Smartas*, into charges of misconduct against Nambari women. When a woman of that community is suspected of sexual misconduct, the head of the family gives intimation of it to his relatives and others of the same caste, who assemble in the lady's house and hold a private enquiry with her maid as the medium of communication. If the suspicion is then found to be unfounded, the enquiry is at once dropped. If on the other hand the enquiry goes to confirm the suspicion,

Caste tribunals.

* In those days witchcraft was numbered among the grave crimes. Even so recently as 1827 a man was sentenced to imprisonment for six years for causing the Raja's health to break down by the practice of his black art. It was during the time of the Resident Colonel Cadogan (1827-34) and through his repeated representations that prosecution for witchcraft was finally discontinued. In 1793, the Dutch Governor of Cochin, Van Anglebeck, advised the then Raja to inflict exemplary punishment on a sorcerer who by his art made His Highness seriously ill and whose guilt was conclusively established by astrological calculations.

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the woman, who is thereafter referred to as a *sadhanam* or thing, is removed to and lodged in an out-house called *anjampura*, and the head of the family proceeds to give intimation of the matter to the Raja. The Raja thereupon issues a writ to the *Smarta* (one versed in the *Smriti*) to conduct the *richaram* or enquiry, and deputes a representative of his own to assist him. The *Smarta* as president and two or more *Mimamsakas* (Brahmans versed in caste law) as members, constitute the tribunal, while the Raja's deputy watches over the proceedings and preserves order. The enquiry is held in the suspected woman's house, and the *Smarta* interrogates her through the medium of the maid-servant. The enquiry is dragged on for days or months till the woman confesses her guilt, or the tribunal is fully convinced of her innocence. In the latter case, the members go through the ceremony of *kshama-namaskaram*, that is, they prostrate themselves before the lady and ask her pardon for having subjected her to so much vexation and humiliation, and she is forthwith honourably acquitted. If on the other hand she confesses her guilt, she is brought out, confronted by the whole tribunal and subjected to a minute cross examination with a view to elicit the names of all who were involved in her guilt. The result is reported to the Raja, who, after ascertaining the facts of the case, issues orders excommunicating the woman and all those who were accused of criminal intimacy with her. The names of those who are to be so excommunicated are proclaimed by a *Pattar Brahman*. The woman is then deprived of her umbrella, and her funeral rites are performed. She is however given a lodging on the banks of a river in these days and maintained at the expense of the *Sirkar*,* but if she once quits this shelter, she is no more entitled to this indulgence. The husband and other members of the family have to go through elaborate purificatory and expiatory ceremonies, which conclude with a *suddhabhoganam*, or messing with their caste men as a token of purification, after obtaining the Raja's permission. All the expenditure in connection with the enquiry—the housing and feeding of the members of the court and the performance of the subsequent ceremonies—

* In the old days, excommunicated Brahman women were sold to the coast Chettis and others, and the Rajas thus made a profit out of their misconduct. In more recent times till about the middle of the last century, such women were made over to Chettis and others on the latter undertaking to maintain them throughout their life-time and furnishing security for the same, provided the women themselves agreed to the arrangement.

has to be incurred by the woman's family, and this sometimes amounts to a large sum. In very rare cases, when the family is found to be altogether without means, the expenditure is met by the Raja.* The co-respondents are excommunicated on the *ex parte* statement of the woman, and are not allowed to offer any defence or cross-examine the woman. They had the right to challenge trial by ordeal when such trial was in vogue.†

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The establishment of courts presided over by regularly paid judges was one of the first reforms of Colonel Munro. He introduced this reform as much for the better administration of justice as for putting a stop to the abuse of their multifarious powers by the Karyakars. These functionaries were not only revenue officers, but also judges, magistrates, police officers and, to a more limited extent, military governors of their respective districts. According to the Colonel "the unlimited powers exercised by the Karigars were peculiarly liable to abuse in their capacity of revenue servants. In absolute governments the conduct of revenue servants requires generally to be observed with more jealousy and vigilance than that of the other public functionaries. The constant and authoritative intercourse which they have with the people touching their property and interests gives them an influence which, if strengthened by the power of a magistrate or judge, will assuredly be perverted by the natives of India to purposes of corruption and injustice. The authority of the Karigars enabled them to prosecute the system of rapine, fraud and coercion, which I have described, and it was essential to the purity of the revenue administration of the country that they should be divested of the magisterial functions which they possessed. But the views which I have stated could not be accomplished by any half measures; they could be accomplished only by reducing the Karigars merely to the office of revenue servants and depriving them of all direct authority

Colonel
Munro's re-
forms.

* In a case of this kind that occurred in 1829, the expenditure was met by the Sirkar, when the Resident Colonel Morrison, a common sense Englishman, unacquainted with the customs and usages of the country, asked "to be informed of the necessity of such a proceeding and whether the established courts should not dispose of such matters, calling upon the Namburis; a plan which would not only appear to be better calculated for the ends of justice but would also save an extra and unnecessary expenditure to the Sirkar.

† In the last case of this kind in Cochin, which took place in 1905, notices were issued to all those who were implicated by the woman, sixty-five in number, and they were for the first time allowed to say whether they were guilty or not, but not to produce any evidence or cross-examine the woman to establish their innocence. They, one and all, pleaded not guilty, but were excommunicated nevertheless in accordance with the customary law.

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over the persons or property of the people". The measures necessary to remedy this evil were introduced by the Hukm-namas issued in May 1812 and April 1813. The following extract from the preamble to the first of these gives a general idea of their scope: "Administration of justice being a matter of primary importance, courts of justice will be established in the State. As matters relating to murder, assaults, etc., and monetary transactions will then be dealt with by the courts, revenue officers will be relieved of all work in connection with the administration of justice. Tannas have been established in each Pravritti and in all secret routes for the protection of the land and for assisting the revenue officers in the collection of revenue. As the courts are established for the administration of justice and tannas for the protection of the land, revenue officers can without interruption attend to the collection of revenue, the cultivation of crown lands, etc." The revenue, judicial and police functions were thus completely separated, but this salutary reform did not unfortunately meet with the approval of the Court of Directors. They thought that this separation of functions was not suited to the habits of the people, and apprehended that "the measure of depriving the Karigars of their magisterial and judicial functions would have the effect of rendering that large body of officers disaffected to the British Government". But as the changes had already been carried out, the reform was not interfered with for over two decades.

Early civil
courts.

By the Hukm-nama of April 1813, two *cheriya* or subordinate courts were established, one at Tripunittura and the other at Trichur, and a *ralia* or Huzur Court at Ernakulam. Each of the subordinate courts was to be presided over by a Hindu and a Christian judge and a Sastri, and the Huzur Court by the Diwan, a Hindu and a Christian judge and a Sastri. All disputes were to be settled according to the provisions of the Dharma Sastras and the custom of the land. If both the parties belonged to the same religion or nationality, the case was to be disposed of according to the law applicable to that nationality, and if they belonged to different nationalities, the law applicable to the nationality of the defendant and the Dharma Sastras should govern the case. Complaints against public servants in the discharge of their duties should, after the examination of the complainants and witnesses without any intimation being given to the servants concerned, be forwarded with the records of enquiry to the Huzur Court to be submitted to the Diwan for

disposal. All other matters were to be enquired into in public by subordinate courts, appeals against their decisions lying to the Huzur Court. The Hukm-nama also contained provisions for enforcing the attendance of parties, for executing decrees without any application from parties, for referring disputes, both civil and criminal, to *panchayats* for decision, etc. A Hukm-nama issued two years later defined the respective jurisdictions of the courts. Suits exceeding 3,000 *fanams* (Rs. 857) in value and all suits against the White Jews were made directly cognizable by the Huzur Court, while all other suits were to be disposed of in the first instance by the subordinate courts, appeals lying to the former from their decisions. Soon after Nanjappayya was appointed Diwan, he issued a Proclamation in January 1818, by which the Huzur Court was converted into the Appeal Court and the subordinate courts into the Zilla courts of Trichur and Anjikaimal, that at Tripunittura being removed to Ernakulam. The Zillah courts were empowered to enquire into and dispose of all cases, subject to confirmation by the Appeal Court, and appeals lay from their decisions to the Appeal Court. In other respects the provisions of the previous Hukm-namas were to remain in force.

The first Regulation that was enacted in Cochin was Regulation I of 1010 M. E. (1835), which was passed for extending the jurisdiction of the courts, but it left the constitution of the civil courts unaffected. For the convenience of the inhabitants of the isolated Taluk of Chittur, the Tahsildar of that Taluk was in 1852 invested with the powers of a Munsiff and authorised to dispose of suits not exceeding Rs. 100 in value. The steady increase in the volume of litigation in the succeeding years rendered some relief necessary to the Zilla courts, and consequently Regulation I of 1036, which was passed in June 1861, provided for the establishment of Munsiffs' courts at Ernakulam and Chittur for the trial of cases not exceeding Rs. 100 in value and also for the disposal of such cases by a single judge of the Zilla courts sitting as a judge of small causes. Two years later, two more Munsiffs' courts were established, one exercising jurisdiction over the Taluks of Mukundapuram and Cranganur and the other over those of Trichur and Talapilli, and the Zilla courts then ceased to exercise the powers of a court of small causes. In 1868, a separate Munsiff's court was established for the Trichur Taluk, and one was similarly established for the Cochin Taluk in 1877. The latter court however was abolished in 1883, but was revived seven

Latter
changes.

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years later. Regulation I of 1042, which was passed at the end of 1866 for extending the powers vested in the Munsiffs and for defining their jurisdiction, empowered them to try suits not exceeding Rs. 200 in value, and made their decisions final in suits the amount or value involved in which did not exceed Rs. 10. The decisions in appeal by the Zilla courts in cases in which the amount or value did not exceed Rs. 50 were also made final. The constitution of the courts underwent a still more important change in 1882. In that year, four classes of courts were constituted by Regulation I of 1057, the Munsiffs' courts, the Zilla courts, the Appeal Court and His Highness the Raja's Court of Appeal. The ordinary jurisdiction of the Munsiffs was raised to Rs. 500 and their small cause jurisdiction to Rs. 25, and the appellate decisions of the Zilla courts in cases of a small cause nature not exceeding Rs. 100 in value were made final. Appeals against the decisions of the Zilla judges in suits below Rs. 1,000 in value in the case of immoveable property and below Rs. 3,000 in the case of moveable property were to be heard and disposed of by a bench of two judges of the Appeal Court, and suits of higher value by a single judge. Against the decision of a single judge, an appeal lay to the Raja's Court of Appeal, which was generally to be heard by the other two judges of the Appeal Court, the Diwan having, in cases in which the Sirkar was not a party, the power to direct the appeal to be heard by the two judges in association with himself. The decisions of the Raja's Court of Appeal were to be submitted through the Diwan to His Highness for confirmation, and they could be pronounced only after they were so confirmed.

Present civil
courts.

This excellent arrangement continued in force for eighteen years, when another change was made in the constitution of the courts by Regulations II and III of 1076. The former constituted the present Chief Court and put an end to the Raja's Court of Appeal, and by the latter the designation of the Zilla courts was changed into District courts, and the ordinary jurisdiction of the Munsiff was raised from 500 to 1,000 rupees, and their small cause jurisdiction to Rs. 50. No provision was made for the appellate small cause jurisdiction of the District courts, but power was taken by Government to bestow on them small cause jurisdiction up to a limit of Rs. 200. All appeals against the decisions of the District judges in original suits were to be heard and disposed of by a full bench of all the three judges of the Chief Court, and appeals from their appellate decisions by a division bench of two judges. A subsequent Regulation however,

IV of 1079, introduced a modification, by which two judges of the Chief Court were empowered to hear and finally dispose of cases which under Regulation I of 1057 the judges of the Appeal Court were competent to dispose of finally. The only unsatisfactory feature of these changes is that, while under the older Regulation there was provision for second appeals in the majority of cases, the right of second appeal has been limited by the existing Regulations to suits whose value does not exceed Rs. 1,000. When the value of suits exceeds that sum, the first appellate decision by three judges, or even by two judges in certain specific cases or if specially authorised by His Highness the Raja, is final.

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The Hukm-nama of April 1813 contained a few simple rules of procedure, which were amplified by the Hukm-nama of May 1816. The provisions contained in the latter governed the procedure of the civil courts till 1835, when Regulation I of 1010 enacted more elaborate provisions. It was only in 1864 that a regular Code of Civil Procedure was brought into force, and this Code, Regulation I of 1039, was enacted on the lines of the British Indian Act VIII of 1859. This law remained in force till 1904, when it was superseded by Regulation I of 1079, which is practically a reproduction of Act XIV of 1882.

Civil pro-
cedure.

There were no periods of limitation prescribed for suits in Cochin till 1835, when Regulation I of 1010 was enacted. By a Proclamation issued in 1818 a period of twelve years was prescribed for the execution of the decrees of the Company's courts by the courts of Cochin, but it was Regulation I of 1010 that for the first time prescribed a period of twelve years for suits and complaints in respect of moveable property. The law did not however apply to claims regarding landed property, nor to cases in which "the plaintiff could prove either that he called upon the defendant for a settlement of his claims or demanded the payment of the sum or sums due by the defendant within the above mentioned period or that the defendant admitted the justice of the demand, or that he (the plaintiff) had directly preferred his claim within the said period to any competent authority". This law was in force till 1868, when Regulation I of 1043, based on the British Indian Act XIV of 1859, was passed. This Regulation was in its turn superseded in 1904 by Regulation II of 1079, an adaptation of Act XV of 1877.

Limitation.

The system of levying fees from parties in civil suits appears to have been introduced soon after the inauguration of the

Court fees.

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—

new system of government in 1762. The fee was then known as *peramper*, and subsequently as *dasturi panam*. The Hukm-nama of November 1814 enacted provisions for the collection of *dasturi panam* or court fees by means of *acchadiyolas*, or stamped cadjans, and the judges of the several courts were made *ex officio* vendors for the sale of these cadjans. These provisions were repealed by Regulation I of 1010, which prescribed a new scale of fees for suits instituted in the Zilla courts, and also provided for their collection in money. This was the law relating to court fees until the Court Fees Regulation, I of 1055, was enacted in 1880. This enactment was superceded by Regulation II of 1080, which was based on the British Indian Act VII of 1870 and which is now the law governing the levy of court fees. Since the passing of this Regulation, court fees are levied in stamps and calculated in terms of British currency.

Stamps.

Stamp duty began to be levied for the first time in 1837 under the provisions of Regulation I of 1012, which required documents, including sale, mortgage, etc., deeds, to be written in *mudrolas*, or stamped cadjans. The cadjans were stamped with dies of various denominations under the supervision of a responsible officer in the Diwan's office and distributed among the Tahsildars for sale. If certain specified deeds were written on plain cadjan or paper, a penalty was levied, if they ever happened to be produced before a Sirkar officer. This law was amended and amplified by Regulation I of 1071 (1895), which was based on the British Indian Act I of 1879. This again was superceded by Regulation VI of 1083, based on Act II of 1899. Since Regulation I of 1071 was passed, stamped cadjans gave place to stamped papers, the manufacture and sale of which were placed under the supervision of an officer designated Superintendent of Stamps, working under the direct orders of the Diwan. As however the system of allowing the manufacture of stamp papers and labels to be conducted side by side with their sale was considered unsound in principle, arrangements were made in 1908 with Messrs. John Dickinson and Co. of London for the manufacture of all important denominations of stamp that might be required by the Darbar. In the last official year (1909-10), the income from stamps, including court fee stamps, copy stamped papers, etc., was nearly four lakhs of rupees.

Registration. The system of registering documents was first brought into force in August 1875 under the provisions of Regulation I of

1049, based on Act VIII of 1871. The benefits of registration as conferring security of title were at once recognised by the people, and the department has therefore steadily risen in popularity. The number of deeds registered during the last thirty-five years has risen from nine thousand in 1050 to forty-five thousand in 1084, and of the registrations of the latter year, as much as 41 per cent. were optional. The receipts of the department have increased during the same period from fifteen to seventy thousand rupees. There are now seventeen Registry offices in the State, with a Superintendent of Registration as the head of the department. The Superintendent is also the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, under the Cochin Companies Regulation, IV of 1080.

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The Hukm-nama of May 1816 contained a provision which enabled parties to suits to be represented by their agents or deputies if they were unable to attend in person—a system theretofore unknown. Regulation I of 1010 provided that, “if it should not be convenient for a plaintiff or defendant to plead in person before the Zilla court, the party will be allowed to employ a relative or an agent or a dependent to plead for him as vakil, who must be furnished with a vakalatnama describing his relationship to his employer, the matter in which he is empowered to act as vakil and the admitted liability of the party to the decree that may be passed”. No qualifications were prescribed for vakils till the passing of Regulation I of 1041, after which competitive examinations were held by the Appeal Court in 1868 and 1881 for the selection of vakils. Since then, only persons who had passed these examinations or had qualified themselves for enrolment as vakils in the several British courts were allowed admission to the Cochin bar. Under the authority vested in them by Regulation II of 1076, the Chief Court framed rules in 1902 regarding the qualifications and admission of vakils, according to which the qualifications required for enrolment as vakils in the Chief Court, the District courts and the District Munsiffs’ courts respectively were made practically the same as those required for enrolment in the corresponding courts in the Madras Presidency.

Pleaders.

Small as the State is, it provides ample work for six District Munsiffs, two District Judges and three Judges of the Chief Court. The minute subdivision of property, the complexity and variety of land tenures and the conflicting interests of which the joint family system and the *marumakkattayam* law of inheritance are so prolific are among the chief causes of this disproportionate immensity in the volume of litigation. Arbitration,

Volume of
litigation.

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which was once a very popular method of settling disputes, is now almost unknown, and the tendency to rush into the civil courts over every matter in dispute is steadily on the increase. The number of original suits filed during the last year was 8,763, nearly double the number filed forty years ago, the file of 1044 being 4,849. The administration of civil justice now brings in a net profit to Government of about one and a quarter lakhs of rupees per annum.

Early criminal
courts.

The Huzur and subordinate courts which were established by Colonel Munro and whose names were subsequently changed into the Appeal and Zilla courts respectively were to administer criminal as well as civil justice. According to the Hukmnama constituting them, all punishments were to be awarded according to the provisions of the *Dharma Sastras*, and all matters to be disposed of according to evidence, trials by ordeal being expressly prohibited. There was thus no clear definition of the powers of the courts except that the Zilla courts could take cognizance of all cases, and that their decisions were invariably subject to confirmation by the Appeal Court. All complaints were in the first instance investigated by Tannadars under the direction of Tanna Naiks, and if there was a *prima facie* case, the accused were committed to the Zilla courts for trial. Capital punishment was awarded in the case of certain grave crimes, such as waging war or attempting to wage war against the State, attempting the life of the sovereign, wilful murder, homicide, and serious cases of dakaiti, but the courts were allowed discretion to substitute other forms of punishment even in such cases. Other crimes were punishable with transportation, forfeiture of property, imprisonment and fine, but mutilation as a form of punishment was put a stop to.

The reforms
of 1010.

In 1835 several important changes were introduced in the system of administering criminal justice. By Regulation IV of 1010, the Tahsildars were made police officers and entrusted with the exercise of the joint functions of Magistrates and Police Inspectors, the Zilla courts were made the criminal courts of the respective Zillas, and the Judges of the Appeal Court were appointed circuit judges for the trial of sessions cases. All complaints were first to be reported to the Tahsildars, who were however competent to deal only with offences punishable with fines up to five rupees. They were to commit all other cases to the Diwan or Diwan Peishkar for trial, who were competent to award imprisonment for six months, six stripes, and fines

to the limit of Rs. 50. Cases requiring heavier punishment were committed by them to the criminal courts. Appeals against the decisions of the Tahsildars lay to the Diwan Peishkar, while the Diwan as Chief Magistrate had a general control over the entire magistracy. One of the judges of the Appeal Court, assisted by the Sastri of the respective Zilla courts, held quarterly sessions at Ernakulam and half yearly sessions at Trichur for the trial of cases committed by the criminal courts. The latter had the power to award imprisonment for one year, twenty stripes and fines to the extent of Rs. 100, while the circuit court could award punishments to the extent of imprisonment for three years, 36 stripes and Rs. 200 fine. All cases meriting heavier punishments were to be referred by the circuit judge to the Appeal Court which was empowered to pass sentence at its discretion according to the nature of the offence, but all sentences of death by hanging, imprisonment exceeding fourteen years, stripes exceeding thirty-six in number had to be submitted to His Highness the Raja for confirmation. The decisions of the criminal courts were subject to appeal to the Appeal Court, while those of the Appeal and circuit courts were final. By Regulation I of 1036 the powers of the circuit judges were raised so that they could award imprisonment for seven years, forty-eight stripes, and fines up to Rs. 500, and the cases committed by the Zilla court of Trichur need not necessarily be tried at Trichur, the place of trial being left to be determined by the Appeal Court with the sanction of His Highness the Raja.

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Regulation I of 1043 (1868) abolished the circuit or sessions courts, and empowered the (Zilla) criminal courts to try and dispose of cases of every description, the sentence being referable to the Appeal Court for approval if they exceeded three years' imprisonment, thirty-six stripes or a fine of Rs. 200. In regard to the power of the Appeal Court, sentences subject to confirmation by His Highness the Raja were limited to those of death and imprisonment for life. The Regulation also provided that "in awarding punishment in the exercise of their criminal jurisdiction the Appeal Court and the Zilla Courts shall be guided by the penalty prescribed in the Indian Penal Code". This arrangement continued in force till 1884, when this branch of judicial administration was completely reorganised by the enactment of the Police Regulation, the Cochin Penal Code and the Cochin Criminal Procedure Code, which were adapted from the corresponding British Indian Acts. A Police force

Subsequent
changes.

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was organised on modern lines, the Tahsildars were divested of their police functions, and the Diwan of his magisterial duties. The Tahsildars were appointed subordinate Magistrates under the new Code, the two Peishkars were appointed District Magistrates with original and appellate jurisdictions, and the Zilla (now District) Judges were appointed Sessions Judges for the trial of cases committed to them by the Magistrates and for disposing of appeals from the decisions of District Magistrates. Appellate authority over the sessions courts and the powers of reference and revision were vested in the Appeal (now Chief) Court. No provision was however made for trial by jury or with assessors and for summary trials. Besides the seven Tahsildar-Magistrates, the Police Amin of Nemmara, whose office was created in 1865 in the interests of the planters on the Nelliampatis, was made a subordinate Magistrate, and to give relief to the Tahsildar-Magistrates of Mukundapuram and Talapilli, Sub-Magistrates' courts were established at Adur and Kunnankulam in 1890. In 1902, a special second class Magistrate was appointed for the Kanayannur Taluk, the Tahsildar being relieved of all magisterial work.

Present
criminal
courts.

In September 1907, the Peishkars and all the Tahsildars were completely divested of their magisterial functions, and the Magistrates' courts at Adur, Kunnankulam and Nemmara were abolished. A full-time District Magistrate was appointed for the whole State with six full-time subordinate Magistrates under him with second class powers, two for the Cochin-Kanayannur Taluk and one each for the remaining four Taluks. The District Registrar of Cranganur was invested with the powers of a third class Magistrate for trying offences arising within that Taluk, but this arrangement was subsequently cancelled, and a full-time Magistrate was appointed for that Taluk as well in June 1909. This complete separation of the revenue and magisterial functions did not involve any change in the system or law governing the administration of criminal justice established in 1883.

Special Ma-
gistrates.

The liability of European British subjects residing in Native States to be tried by the criminal tribunals of those States was not only not questioned in the early days of British supremacy, but was expressly admitted by the Government of India so early as 1837. According to the rules issued by them in that year, "Europeans residing in the territories of Native States, not being servants of British Government, must be held to be in all cases, civil and criminal, subject to the law of

the country in which they reside". But when an European officer in the service of Travancore was convicted of embezzlement in 1866 and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, the trial was declared to be illegal by the Madras Government according to a Proclamation of the Government of India. When however eminent lawyers like Mr. J. D. Mayne expressed their opinion that the trial was perfectly legal, the Government cancelled their order and allowed the sentence passed by the Travancore court to be carried out. But at the same time the Government of India considered that "the law respecting the trial of European British subjects for offences committed in Native States required some alteration in the practice which had hitherto prevailed", and that they should in such cases be tried by men of their own nationality. The Government however conceded that "the Sirkar and not the British Government should appoint first class Magistrates who should be European British subjects for the trial of all cases in which European British subjects were defendants". This arrangement was accepted by Travancore and Cochin in 1870, and has been in force ever since. For the trial of Europeans the State appoints one or more European British subjects as special Magistrates, and the Government of India gazette them as Justices of the Peace. They have power to sentence European British subjects to three months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000. An appeal lies to the European Judge of the Chief Court when there is one. The British Resident is also a Justice of the Peace with the powers of a Sessions Judge over European British subjects, and appeals from his decisions lie to the Madras High Court. Europeans are within the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of the State in regard to all civil matters and also in cases of contempt.

There are no criminal tribes or castes in the State, and serious crimes are comparatively of rare occurrence. Even grave crimes, technically so called, bear but a small ratio to the population. Highway robbery which was so common at one time is now unknown, and even dakaitis are few and far between. The majority of the crimes reported are theft and simple hurt and offences under special and local laws. Of the 2,602 persons convicted last year, only 18 were sentenced to more than one year's imprisonment. Cases necessitating the use of the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code are extremely few.

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Police.

In the days of the *Naduvazhis* and *Desavazhis*, law and order were maintained by the armed Nayers under their command, and even after the Karyakars took their place, the functions of the police continued to be performed by the military. It was Colonel Munro that first separated the two functions by organising a force of Tannadars with a Tanna Naik for each Taluk, whose duty was exclusively police. According to the preamble to the Hukm-nama of May 1812, " the Tannadars are to keep the peace of the land. They are to move about the country, preventing contraband trade and the commission of theft, arresting depredators, making searches with a view to secure contraband articles, and generally assisting the Karyakars and other Sirkar officers in the discharge of their respective functions ". This force was disbanded in 1835, when the Tahsildars were made police officers by Regulation IV of 1010. To assist them in their police work, they were given a number of peons with a Kotwal at their head in each Taluk. This arrangement was in force till 1884, when a separate Police department was organised under the provisions of Regulation I of 1058. A disciplined force of about three hundred head constables and constables was organised and placed under the control of a Superintendent with six Inspectors to assist him, one for each of the six divisions into which the State was divided for purposes of police administration. Several changes were subsequently made in the strength and organisation of the force, but they are not of sufficient importance to be detailed here. The force as it stands at present is the result of the re-organisation effected in 1908, when the State was divided into three Inspectors' circles, in lieu of the six circles into which it was formerly divided, a new staff of thirteen Sub-Inspectors was created to take the place of the old Station House Officers in all important stations, several unimportant stations were converted into out-posts, the strength of the force was increased and the pay of the constables raised. The present sanctioned strength of the force is 63 officers and 477 men, the ratio of effective police to population and area being one to 1,526 persons and one to 2.58 square miles respectively; and the total cost of the establishment is over eighty thousand rupees a year.

Jails.

Jails of modern description were first established along with the establishment of the Zilla courts, the Zilla judges exercising general supervision over them. There were thus two central jails, one at Ernakulam and the other at Trichur, short-term

prisoners being confined in the Tannas or subsidiary jails at the Taluk head-quarters. The buildings in which the prisoners were confined were not specially adapted for jail purposes, and were generally overcrowded. In 1890, the two old jail buildings were abandoned, and a Central Jail established in Ernakulam in a building constructed on the association block system with accommodation for nearly 200 prisoners. The old jails were guarded by the detachments of British sepoys stationed at Trichur and Ernakulam, while the prisoners, when taken out for extra-mural labour, were under the guard of jail peons. With the establishment of the new Central Jail, a warder guard was organised, and the administration of the jail was placed under a full-time Superintendent with a Jailor and an Assistant Jailor under him. Under the Prisons Regulation, VI of 1076, the Diwan is *ex officio* Inspector-General of Prisons, but in exercise of the power vested in him by that Regulation, he has delegated his duties as Inspector-General to the District Magistrate. There is a hospital attached to the jail for the medical treatment of prisoners, and the health of the jail has generally been fairly good. Formerly, the prisoners were employed exclusively on extra-mural labour, chiefly the construction and repair of roads. It was only after the establishment of the present Central Jail that intra-mural industry was first started, and now the men are seldom employed outside the prison walls. The chief industries carried on in the jail are coir-yarn making, cloth weaving and the making of coir rugs, net bags, baskets and other miscellaneous articles. Besides the Central Jail, there are at present six subsidiary jails in the immediate charge of the Sub-Magistrates. The average daily number confined in the Central Jail during the past five years was 150 and in the subsidiary jails 40. The average income and expenditure on account of the jails amount to Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 20,000 respectively.

After the rebellion of 1809, the State army which was organised by Dutch officers was disbanded, but four companies were retained for sentry and escort duty in the palace. The preservation of order was left to the British subsidiary force, detachments of which were stationed in several places in the State. Most of these detachments were withdrawn one by one before 1860, but two companies continued to be stationed at Trichur, with a Subadar guard at Ernakulam for guarding the treasury. These also were withdrawn finally in 1900. The only military force now in the State is the Nayar Brigade, which consists of five commissioned and sixteen non-commissioned

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officers and 225 men, besides an artillery force consisting of two non-commissioned officers and twenty men with four muzzle-loading guns, and a cavalry consisting of one commissioned and two non-commissioned officers and twelve men. There is also a State band consisting of 26 officers and men. Small detachments of infantry are stationed at Ernakulam and Trichur to guard the local treasuries and mount sentry in the Diwan's official residence, while the rest of the men are employed on sentry and escort duty in the palaces at Tripunittura. The chief work of the artillery men is the firing of salutes on State occasions, while the cavalry, which was formed in 1875, acts as His Highness the Raja's body guard. The superior officers in the infantry are armed with swords and the inferior officers and men with muzzle-loading carbines, while the Jamadar of the body guard is armed with a sword and a revolver and the other officers and troops with swords, lances and pistols. The cost of the department is nearly forty thousand rupees a year.

CHAPTER XIV.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE GOVERNMENT: His Highness the Raja—The civil list—The Diwan
—The Huzur Secretariat—Legislation—Coinage—Finance—ADMINISTRATIVE
DEPARTMENTS: Departmental heads—Accounts—Public Works—Anekal.

HIS Highness the Raja is the fountain of all authority in the State, legislative, judicial and executive, the powers exercised by his officers being but those delegated by him by legislative enactments or by special rules or orders. The Raja's powers are limited only by the Regulations passed by himself and by treaty obligations with the British Government. By the last treaty with that Government, that of 1809, the Raja is bound to abstain from any interference in the affairs of any foreign State, whether in alliance with the British Government or not, and from holding any communication with any such State without the previous knowledge and sanction of that Government; and also "to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the British Government may offer with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenue, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry or any other objects connected with the advancement of the interests of the Raja, the happiness of his people and the mutual welfare of both States."* His Highness' State therefore has no foreign relations, but in all matters of internal administration His Highness exercises sovereign authority subject to such advice as may be offered by the Government of Madras through their accredited representative, the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin. The treaty more or less determines the matters of administration on which the advice of the Paramount Power is generally offered. They may be

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VERNMENT.

His Highness
the Raja.

* For the terms of the treaty now in force, see pp. 145-6, ante.

CHAP. XIV. summarised as follows:—1. any problem affecting seriously the
 THE GO- finances of the State, such as the introduction of the railway
 VERNMENT. and other undertakings which involve large outlay; 2. the
 — adjustment of Land revenue and other measures resulting
 in increased taxation; 3. measures which interfere with the
 existing constitution, independence and powers of the courts of
 justice and the civil and criminal rights of the people; 4. fiscal
 or other measures, such as the imposition of export and import
 duties which may seriously affect the extension and development
 of commerce and industry. In regard to details of internal
 administration however, His Highness acts independently,
 consulting the Resident or not according to his discretion.

The civil list. Till 1835, the usual practice was for the Raja to order the disbursement from the State treasury of any amount at his discretion for the maintenance of himself and his family. But in that year the amount required for palace expenditure was fixed, at the instance of the Resident, Mr. Casamajor, with reference to the average expenditure of previous years and to the total income of the State. The allowance thus fixed underwent several revisions in subsequent years, and the one now in force is in accordance with the scheme sanctioned in 1907 for a period of twelve years. Under this scheme the total palace allowance is fixed at three and a half lakhs of rupees a year, and the number of male members who are to receive fixed monthly allowances is limited to twenty, besides His Highness the Raja and the Elaya Raja. The fixed allowances amount to Rs. 2,04,600, and a sum of Rs. 48,400 is set apart as a general palace fund for the maintenance and education of the junior male members below the rank of those entitled to fixed allowances. For the latter there is a special residential palace scheme sanctioned by the Darbar. A sum of Rs. 70,000 is annually debited to the general ceremony fund, from which the cost of all palace ceremonies is defrayed. The balance amounting to Rs. 27,000 is utilized for tour expenses, the education of the children and miscellaneous charges. Their Highnesses the Raja and the Senior Rani have their respective landed estates, which are administered by them personally and the income from which is at their absolute disposal. All female members and all children under sixteen years of age are maintained by the Senior Rani out of the income from her estate and the allowance from the treasury amounting to forty-eight thousand rupees a year.

The Diwan is the responsible minister of the Raja and the chief executive officer of the State. As he is primarily responsible for the efficient and progressive administration of the State and for the proper fulfilment of the engagements with the suzerain power, his appointment and removal are, according to custom, made in consultation with the Madras Government, but his nomination rests entirely with His Highness. The Diwan is the official mouth-piece of the Raja's Government, and has no position in the administration independent of His Highness, although in certain matters he is given powers under the regulation and rules passed by His Highness to act without special reference to him. In all important matters the Diwan can act only after taking the Raja's orders. The official acts and proceedings of the Diwan are those of His Highness' Government, and he does not bear any responsibility distinct from that of the Darbar. The Diwan alone has access to the Raja and the British Resident officially: no other officer in the State can hold official correspondence with them.* He is also the sole channel of official communication with heads of departments. He has large powers conferred on him by several of the existing Regulations, to make rules and issue executive instructions, besides the power delegated to him by the Raja to make appointments, sanction expenditure and enforce official discipline. Under a scheme of decentralisation recently sanctioned, certain additional powers hitherto exercised by His Highness were conferred upon him. He can, for instance, make all appointments, without reference to the Raja, except those of heads of departments and their assistants, judicial officers exercising civil and magisterial functions and a few other specified executive officers. He can also sanction all expenditure provided in the general budget approved of by His Highness, land revenue remissions to the extent of Rs. 500 and not exceeding Rs. 5,000 in a year, revision of ministerial and menial establishments which does not involve additional expenditure, and pension and gratuity to all officers who hold appointments on Rs. 50 and less per mensem. He need obtain His Highness' sanction only for extraordinary and unforeseen expenditure not provided in the budget and for public works estimates exceeding Rs. 2,000 in amount. He has full powers of supervision over the work of all heads of departments, and

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—
The Diwan.

* Formerly, European officers in the service of the State had the right of addressing the British Resident direct, but this was discontinued early in Diwan Sankunni Menon's administration.

CHAP. XIV. THE GOVERNMENT. it is his duty to see that they discharge their functions efficiently in accordance with the rules and regulations in force for the time being. The Diwan gives an account of the administration of His Highness' Government and a review of the work of the various departments in an annual Administration Report, which is issued for general information of the Madras Government and the public.

The Huzur Secretariat.

The Huzur Secretariat or the Diwan's office is the medium through which the Diwan exercises his power of supervision and guidance over all departments. The Secretariat consists of four chief departments, *viz.*, (1) Revenue, which deals with Land Revenue, Devasvam and Separate Revenue (forest, excise, etc.); (2) Public Works, which deals with works of all kinds, including irrigation and contribution works; (3) Judicial, which deals with Judicial, Police, Jail and Registration departments; and (4) Local and Legislative, which deals with legislation and Sirkar suits, medical and sanitation, education and general correspondence. The Secretary to the Diwan is the chief ministerial officer of the Secretariat, and is responsible for the efficient conduct of work in all its departments. Stamp, Stationery and Printing offices are treated practically as a branch of the Secretariat, and are directly under a Superintendent subject to the control of the Secretariat.

Legislation.

There is no special legislative machinery in the State for making laws and regulations. Between 1893 and 1903 there was a Law Committee, consisting of a president and seven members, to draft bills whenever called upon to do so by the Diwan. The committee was abolished in the latter year. Whenever the State finds it necessary to legislate on any subject, the Diwan calls upon the Government Advocate and Law Officer, or any other officer or officers he might choose, to prepare and submit a draft bill. This bill, after undergoing such revision as is found to be necessary by the Diwan, is published in the Government Gazette for public criticism, and submitted to the Government of Madras for advice through the British Resident. On receipt of their advice, it is submitted to His Highness the Raja, on receiving whose assent it becomes law. All enactments are called Regulations. At present there are nearly eighty such Regulations in force, almost all of which are framed on the lines of corresponding enactments in British India. In special cases His Highness the Raja issues Proclamations after taking the advice of the Madras Government, and these also have the force of law.

Though the State has at present no currency of its own, it has the right to mint its own coin. The only coins that appear ever to have been minted in the State were the single and the double *puttans*, silver coins of the value of ten and twenty pies respectively. The earliest coinage of which we have any record was that of 1783-4, when two lakhs of rupees worth of puttans were minted. Puttans to the value of Rs. 36,000, Rs. 62,000, Rs. 32,000 and Rs. 40,000 were also coined in 1790, 1821, 1855 and 1897 respectively. In 1897, the mint was grossly mismanaged with the result that from that year the coin began to depreciate in value, so much so that in 1900 the State felt constrained to withdraw all the puttans from circulation and abolish the coin as a legal tender. By a Proclamation issued in that year all British Indian coins were made legal tender in the State.

CHAP. XIV.
THE
GOVERN-
MENT.
Coinage.

The total revenues of the State during the last official year (1909-10) amounted to 39·5 lakhs of rupees, and the total expenditure to 33·2 lakhs. There has been a steady advance in the revenues, as will be seen from the subjoined statement, in which the receipts for the last ten years are given in lakhs of rupees:—

1076	...	27·6	1081	...	33·4
1077	...	27·2	1082	...	34·4
1078	...	24·1	1083	...	33·5
1079	...	29·0	1084	...	40·5
1080	...	33·3	1085	...	39·5

The principal sources of revenue and the amounts realised from each last year were Land revenue, 11·1 lakhs; Forests, 7·4 lakhs; Excise, (including salt, customs, etc.), 8·9 lakhs; Stamps, 3·9 lakhs; Railway, 5·2 lakhs; and other receipts, 3·2 lakhs. The chief items of expenditure are subsidy to the British Government, 2 lakhs; Palace allowances, 3·5 lakhs; Land revenue, 1·7 lakhs; Excise, 1·6 lakhs; Forests, 3·5 lakhs; Tramway, 1·8 lakhs; Judicial including police, jail and registration, 3·1 lakhs; Education, 2·3 lakhs; Medical, including vaccination and sanitation, 1·5 lakhs; Public Works, 4·4 lakhs; and Railway 2·4 lakhs. The State contracted two loans of ten lakhs of rupees each in debentures on account of the construction of the railway and the tramway, but against this there was a sum of 7·7 lakhs credited up to the end of 1085 M. E. to a sinking fund created to liquidate the debt, and this sum has now augmented to ten lakhs. The first loan is repayable on the 1st August 1911. The expenditure is regulated in accordance with an annual budget sanctioned by His Highness the Raja.

CHAP. XIV.
ADMINI-
STRATIVE
DEPART-
MENTS.

Department-
al heads.

The several branches of administration are placed in the immediate charge of officers called heads of departments, who work under the direct orders of the Diwan and are responsible for the efficient working of their respective departments. They are invested with more or less extensive administrative powers under the recently sanctioned scheme of decentralisation and by the legislative enactments that regulate the work of their departments: they are also authorised to make all the appointments in their ministerial establishments except those of their chief ministerial officers, and to sanction contingent expenditure for their own and subordinate offices within the budget provision and estimates for all works included in the budget under petty construction and repairs up to a limit of Rs. 100. Accounts, more or less detailed, of the constitution and working of the following departments have already been given in the preceding chapters, and it only remains to deal with the remaining departments here :- Judicial (civil and criminal), Police, Jail, Registration, Military, Land Revenue, Forests, Excise, Stamps, Devasvam, Medical and Sanitation, and Education.

Accounts.

The Account department was till 1907 a branch of the Huzur Secretariat, but in that year it was constituted into a separate department and placed under an officer designated Comptroller of Accounts. In the office of the Comptroller, which is a central account and audit office, the accounts of the district treasuries, of which there are six in the State, are audited and consolidated, the accounts of such departments as Public Works, Forest, Tramway and Devasvam, which have account systems of their own, are subjected to a close scrutiny with reference to budget allotments, sanctioned estimates and the sanctioned schedule of rates. It is also among the duties of the Comptroller to inspect the district treasuries and the offices of spending departments to see that the expenditure incurred by the several departments is within the allotments sanctioned in their budgets and to satisfy himself that, in matters of account heads of departments and offices conform strictly to the rules and instructions contained in the Account Code and the Service Regulations. The Comptroller is assisted by a staff consisting of an Assistant, a Chief Auditor and a number of assistant auditors. The Comptroller's accounts and registers are subjected to a test audit once in three or five years by an outside officer according to the discretion of the Darbar.

Public
Works.

The Public Works department was organised in 1870. Till then all works used to be executed by the officers of the

Revenue department, who had no professional knowledge of the work. Even after the organisation of the professional department, temple and palace works, together with several other petty works, continued to be carried out by revenue officers till 1890, when a Maramath department, which was also manned by non-professional men, was created for the execution of such works. This dual system, however, was found to work unsatisfactorily, and the Maramath department was therefore abolished in 1897. All works are now carried out by the Public Works department under the Chief Engineer, who is assisted by an Assistant Engineer, four Supervisors, six Overseers and two Sub-Overseers. Three of the Supervisors are in charge of the three divisions into which the State is divided for public works purposes, and the fourth is in charge of all temples works, while five of the Supervisors are in charge of the five Taluks and the sixth in special charge of irrigation works. The department was organised in its present form in 1907. The annual expenditure incurred on public works, including cost of establishments, is about four and a half lakhs of rupees.

The State has a Postal or Anchal department of its own. Anchal. It was created about the year 1791 with the exclusive object of transmitting official communications from one station to another. Subsequently, Anchal masters were authorised to accept private covers and transmit them free, and tapal runners also were allowed to carry them on their own account; it was only in 1865 that the department began regularly to carry private letters and parcels and levy postage on them in money. In 1892 anchal stamps and cards were issued for the first time, and the levy of postage in money was discontinued. The stamps then issued were of the values of three, five, ten and twenty pies, with stamped envelopes of similar denominations and post cards and reply cards of the values of two and four pies. Last year the department was reorganised, and new denominations of stamps issued, viz., stamps of the values of two, three, four, nine and eighteen pies, stamped envelopes of similar denominations, except two and three pies, and post cards and reply cards of the values of two and four pies. There are altogether 43 Anchal offices and 84 letter boxes in the State, and the length of the Anchal line is 301 miles. The average annual receipts of the department amount to twelve thousand rupees, and the expenditure to eighteen thousand. The excess of expenditure over income is nominal, as no income accrues to the

CHAP. XIV. department for the work of carrying official covers, the cost of
ADMINI- which amounts to half a lakh of rupees a year. The depart-
STRATIVE ment is in charge of a Superintendent, to whose office is also
DEPART- attached a dead letter office, which receives and disposes of
MENTS. about four thousand letters and articles a year.

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CHAPTER XV.

GAZETTEER.

CHITTUR TALUK: Ayilur—Chittur—Kozhinjanpara—Mulattara—Nallopilli—Nelliampatis—Nemmara—Parambikolam—Pattancheri—Tattamangalam—COCHIN-KANAYANNUR TALUK: Andikadavu—Chellanam—Chennamangalam—Cheranellur—Chovara—Elankunnapuzha—Ernakulam—Kumbalam—Kuzhupilli—Malayattur—Malipuram—Mattancheri—Mulanthurutti—Mulavukad—Narakal—Pallipuram—Pallurutti—Tripunittura—Vadavukod—Vaipin Island—Vellarpilli—Vendurutti—CRANGANUR TALUK—MUKUNDAPURAM TALUK: Adur—Chalakudi—Irinjalakuda—Kallettumkara—Kanjirapilli—Karupadanna—Mala—Nellayi—Pudukad—Tiruvanchikulam—Trikkur—Varadanapilli—TALAPILLI TALUK: Arthat—Cholakara—Cheruturutti—Chovannur—Kadavallur—Kunnamkulam—Kuttampilli—Mullurkara—Nelluvaya—Pazhayannur—Tiruvilvamala—Vadakancheri—TRICHUR TALUK: Antikad—Aranattukara—Arattupuzha—Killannur—Manalur—Mundur—Ollur—Pattikad—Perumanam—Trichur—Urukam—Viyyur.

CHITTUR TALUK

CHITTUR, the easternmost Taluk of the State consists of two CHITTUR.
disconnected parts, one lying between $10^{\circ} 39'$ and $10^{\circ} 51'$ N. latitude and $76^{\circ} 44'$ and $76^{\circ} 46'$ E. longitude, and the other between $10^{\circ} 20'$ and $10^{\circ} 36'$ N. latitude and $76^{\circ} 33'$ and $76^{\circ} 54'$ E. longitude. The smaller or eastern portion, 105 square miles in area, is wholly encircled by British territory, by Coimbatore on the east and by Malabar on the other three sides. The western portion is 280 square miles in extent, of which only about 32 square miles form inhabited plains, the rest consisting of the Pottundi, the Nelliampati and the Parambikolam ranges of hills. The plain portion is surrounded by the Malabar District except on the south, while the hills stretch southwards and westwards to the rest of the forests of the State. The detached eastern portion is situated in the centre of the Palghat gap, and consequently its meteorological conditions differ considerably from those of the remaining parts of Cochin, receiving as it does only about half the rainfall of the latter. Like other plain Taluks, it slopes gently down from the east, but its laterite hills are much lower and the valleys between them much less deep than is usual in other parts. The centre

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CHITTUR.

of the detached portion is called the *kanam*, which was once a magnificent teak forest, but the whole of it was assigned for cultivation during the second half of the last century. A portion of it however was recently acquired by the Darbar and constituted into a teak reserve. The chief river is the Chittur, or that portion of the Anamalai which passes through Cochin territory. It joins the Bharatapuzha or Ponnani river at Parali. The Korayar, the Varattar and the Velantavalam are among the smaller rivers that pass through Chittur and fall into the Bharatapuzha. Several small streams that drain the lower reaches of the Nelliampati and Pothundi ranges pass through the western portion of the Taluk in their course to the Ponnani river through the adjoining British territory. The Nelliampati and Parambikolam rivers that drain the higher reaches flow towards the south-west and fall into the Chalakudi river. The hills and the eastern parts of the Taluk are feverish.

The soils are of the usual red ferruginous variety, except in the eastern villages adjoining Coimbatore, where the regar series occurs to a considerable extent. The wet cultivation is valuable and yields in excellence to that of no other part of the State. The rainfall being comparatively small, several irrigation works have been constructed in the Taluk both by the Sirkar and by the ryots to make up the deficiency, and but for these works not only is the raising of a second crop next to impossible, but a considerable portion of the detached part of the Taluk would have had to be left uncultivated. Unlike in other parts of the State, the gardens are very few and poor, the palmyra, the characteristic tree of the Taluk, being a poor substitute for the cocoanut and the arecanut palms of the other Taluks. But, on the other hand, this is the only Taluk in the State in which are raised the usual dry crops of the east coast, such as cholam, ragi, cumbu, castor and ground-nut. Coffee and, to a smaller extent, rubber are grown on the Nelliampatis. Weaving is the most notable industry of the Taluk, and is carried on by Chetans and Kaikolans in all the more important centres. There are two factories for the manufacture of bricks and tiles, one near Chittur and the other at Kozhinjampara.

If the crops partake of the character of the eastern and western countries of the Presidency, the inhabitants also do the same. There are no Namburis or Syrian Christians or Mappilas in the Taluk: their places are taken by Pattar or Tamil Brahmans, recent Christian converts and Ravuttans. Tamil Brahman villages or *gramams* are scattered all over the Taluk, while the

Nayars live in detached houses outside the *gramam* limits. The total population is 89,549 (43,606 males and 45,943 females), of whom 36 per cent. have returned Tamil as their mother tongue.

Hindus...	...	75,939
Christians	...	4,337
Muhammadians		7,201
Animists	...	2,072

About 60 per cent. of the Tamil speaking population of the State are found in this Taluk, and in its eastern villages the great majority of the inhabitants are Tamilians. Chittur has a larger proportion of Hindus and a smaller proportion of Christians than the rest of the State. There are no Hindu temples of note in the Taluk: the most notable temple is the one at Ayilur, which however is of only secondary importance.

The Taluk is said to have been once an integral part of the territory of the Palghat Rajas, who ceded it to the Raja of Cochin for the assistance rendered by him in defending the eastern frontier of the gap against Kongu invaders. It began to be known by the name of Chittur only in comparatively recent times. It was probably so called after the Cochin portion of the Anamalai river, which used to be known by the name of *Chittar*. The old name of the eastern portion was *Naludesam*, or aggregate of four Desams or villages (Chittur, Nallepilli, Tattamangalam and Pattancheri), and that of the western portion *Kodakaranad*. Tiruttal Acchan, now represented by the Chondath Mannadiar, appears to have been the *Naduvazhi* chief of Naludesam, and the Kodakara Nayar of the latter. The other Mannadiars of the place and Pattancheri Acchan were probably the Desavazhis of Naludesam. The Taluk is divided into 25 villages for administrative purposes.

Ayilur: the westernmost village of the Taluk, three miles distant from Nemmara and about eighteen from Chittur. The village appears to have grown up round the Ayilur temple, which is the most important temple in the Taluk and is under the management of the Sirkar. A line of Brahman houses encircles the temple, and behind this are the houses of the Nayars. The houses further remote from the temple are inhabited by low caste Hindus. The village is thus almost exclusively a Hindu one, 4,163 out of the population of 4,420 being Hindus. There are a few families of Chetans in the village, who carry on cotton weaving.

Chittur: the head-quarters of the Taluk, situated on the right bank of the Anamalai or Chittur river, 10° 42' N. latitude and 76° 45' E. longitude. Population, 8,095, of whom 96 per cent.

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CHITTUR.

are Hindus, the rest being Muhammadans and Christians. It is the chief centre of the Tamil Brahmans in the State : there are no fewer than three of their *gramams* in the town. The other predominant castes are Nayars, Vellalas, Chetans and Kaikolans. There are some substantial land-holders among them, chiefly among Nayars. The town, with its substantial buildings and neat *gramams*, has a prosperous appearance. The sanitation is looked after by a board appointed and financed by Government. Cotton weaving is the chief industry of the town ; cloths of fine texture are turned out by Chetans, and coarse ones by Kaikolans. Near the town is a brick and tile manufactory. Among the public institutions of the town are the offices of the Tahsildar, the District Munsiff, the Sub-Magistrate and the District Registrar, the police station, hospital and high school. There is also an old palace in the town. The nearest railway station, Palghat, is ten miles distant from Chittur.

The people of Chittur and its neighbourhood take considerable interest in a festival, called *Kongapada*, which is celebrated every year in March. It is said to be the commemoration of a victory gained by Cochin over invaders from Kongu country. Tradition makes out that the goddess of the local temple in person led the Cochin army and slew the Kongu chief with her own hand. All the incidents of the battle, together with the circumstances that led to it, are enacted on the night of the festival. The sham fight is accompanied by the beating of numerous Paraya drums, blowing of horns, racing of horses, torch light processions, etc., and in the course of it some act as the wounded and some fall down on the field of action as dead. These dead and wounded are immediately taken up and carried to their supposed respective houses accompanied by torch lights, beating of drums, beating of breast and crying and weeping. At the end of the fight a procession is formed from the battle-field and moves through the Nayar quarters to the temple where it reaches just before day-break, when there is a display of fire-works.

Kozhinjampara : six miles to the east of Chittur. Population, 4,842 (2,923 Hindus, 787 Muhammadans, 1,122 Christians and 10 animists). The Christians are recent Tamil converts, and are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Coimbatore. The village has got a tile factory, a police station and a Satram known as the Nattukal Satram. This last was built by public subscription to commemorate the services of General Cullen, British Resident from 1840 to 1860.

Mulattara : fourteen miles to the south-east of Chittur, CHAP. XV.
CHITTUR.
The village owes its importance to the anicut which was built by the Sirkar in the fifties and renovated in the eighties and which forms the chief irrigation work in the Taluk. The place is feverish and would probably have remained uninhabited but for the irrigation works. Population, 1,540, mostly Hindus.

Nallepilli : three miles to the north-east of Chittur. Population, 5,090, of whom all but 32 are Hindus. Like Chittur, it is a centre of Tamil Brahmans, and contains a large *gramam*. Close to the *gramam* is the *tara* in which the Nayers live. Among the latter there are some substantial land-holders.

Nelliampatis : range of hills forming a section of the Western Ghats. They lie six miles to the south of Nemmara and twenty miles from Palghat, which is the nearest railway station. The range varies in height from 1,500 to 5,000 feet above the sea, and consists of a succession of ridges cut off from one another by valleys containing dark evergreen forests. In the centre of the range is an extensive plateau, the average elevation of which is over 3,000 feet. The highest peak in the range is Nellikotta or Padagiri, 5,200 feet above sea-level. Vellachimudi, Valiyavana Ridge, Myanmudi and Valavachan are other peaks, each over 4,000 feet in height. The climate of the range is cool and pleasant during the greater part of the year, but is feverish in March, April and May. The monsoon rains are heavy, the average annual fall being 155 inches. The thermometer ranges from about 60° in December to 85° in April, the main temperature being 72°. The Nelliampatis contain a large number of teak and other valuable trees of immense height and girth, but they cannot be exploited for want of a suitable outlet to the plains. On the plateau above referred to, land was opened out for coffee growing in 1864. There are now sixteen estates, of which eleven are owned by Europeans and the rest by natives. One of the estates has recently been converted into a rubber plantation. The total area assigned for coffee cultivation is 8,500 acres, of which over 3,300 acres are now under mature plants. The yield in 1909-10 was 9,100 cwts. or an average of 308 lb. an acre of mature plants. From 800 to 1,000 labourers are employed on the plantations, and the annual quit-rent payable to Government amounts to a little over Rs. 12,000. The State has constructed a ghat road to the estate, the length of which from the foot of the ghat is 23 miles and the steepest gradient 1 in 6. About fifteen miles of road on the plateau connect the estates with one another. The

CHAP. XV. State maintains a dispensary and a police station on the hills.
CHITTUR. The population of the range is 3,018, of whom 310 are Kndars. They are the only jungle-folk found in this range.

Nemmara : fifteen miles to the west of Chittur. Population, 6,492, of whom 91 per cent. are Hindus. The village consists of four *gramams* of Tannil Brahmans and two *taras* of Nayars. The sanitation of the place is looked after by a board appointed and financed by Government. Cotton weaving is carried on to some extent by Chetans in Nemmara and in the contiguous village of Vallangi. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the people, but Vallangi is a place of some trade, which is in the hands of Ravuttans and Chettis. Nemmara has an aided high school, a Sub-Registrar's office, a hospital, a police station and a travellers' bungalow.

Parambikolam : a continuation of the Nelliampati range towards the south-east. Its highest peak, Karimalagopuram, is 5,000 feet above the sea-level, but the average elevation of the range is considerably less than that of the Nelliampatis. Its virgin forests are the most valuable in the State, the teak and other trees growing there are superior both in grain and in size to the produce of the other forests. It is mainly to exploit these hitherto unworked forests that the forest tramway has been constructed.

Pattancheri : seven miles to the south-east of Chittur. Population, 6,137, mostly Hindus. The village adjoins the teak reserve.

Tattamangalam : three miles to the west of Chittur. Population, 6,222, of whom 79 per cent. are Hindus and 20 per cent. Muhammadans, chiefly Ravuttans. The town consists of three Brahman *gramams*, a Nayar *tara* and a bazaar inhabited chiefly by Ravuttans and Chettis. It is a place of some trade, which is mainly in the hands of Ravuttans. The Chittur Sanitary Board looks after the sanitation of the town. Kallanchira, an isolated tract near Tattamangalam, has a colony of weavers, who make fine as well as coarse cloths. Tattamangalam has a travellers' bungalow and a police station.

COCHIN-KANAYANNUR TALUK.

COCHIN-Kanayannur, the head-quarter Taluk, is the southern-
 most division of the State. It lies between 9° 46' and 10° 10' N. latitude and between 76° 13' and 76° 33' E. longitude, and is bounded on the north by the Ponnani Taluk of British Malabar and the Mukundapuram Taluk of the State, on the west by the Arabian Sea and on the east and south by Travancore. The Taluk is mixed up with Travancore territory in many places, and several bits, like Vadavukod, Malayattur, Vellarapilli and Chennamangalam, are isolated tracts of Cochin territory within Travancore limits. The Taluk is divided into two main strips by a series of lagoons or back-waters, into which the torrents from the hills in the east empty themselves and which have outlets into the sea at Cochin and Cranganur. The western strip is the sea-board, a flat sandy region interspersed with low, marshy lands, on which rice crops are raised when the salt water is freshened by the monsoon rains. The tract to the east of the back-waters varies from undulating hillocks with fertile valleys to low marshy lands bordering on the back-water. Narrow stretches of land fringing these back-waters and small islands situated within them are studded with clusters of cocoanut plantations, while in the interior hilly tracts, through which several streams and rivers flow, notably the Periyar or Alway, both the river banks and the valleys abound in paddy flats and cocoanut and arecanut groves. The State Railway runs through the eastern strip as far as Ernakulam, the capital of the State.

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 COCHIN-KA-
 NAYANNUR.

The Taluk has an area of 156½ square miles, and a population of 2,35,081. It is the most densely populated Taluk in the State, the average density being over 1,500 inhabitants per square mile. It has a larger proportion of Christians than any other Taluk, and in several of the villages they out-number the Hindus. All the Jewish colonies except a small one in Mukundapuram are in this Taluk. Elephantiasis is very common among the people.

The prevailing soils are sandy, except towards the interior where they are of the usual, red ferruginous variety. Along the sea-board and on the banks of the back-waters the cocoanut is the characteristic tree, its produce in one form or another forming the bulk of the export trade of the State. Here a large

Hindus	...	1,30,950
Christians	...	90,179
Muhammadians	...	12,701
Jews	...	1,037
Others	...	217

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COCHIN-KA-
NAYANNUR.

proportion of the inhabitants devote themselves to its cultivation, and to toddy drawing and the preparation of coir yarn and copra. There are nine cocoanut oil mills worked by steam power and a large number of small coir factories. Fisheries also form an extensive industry of the Taluk. There are no reserved forests in the Taluk except in the isolated tract of Malayattur, where there is a small reserve which is only 1,600 acres in extent.

Till 1907 Cochin and Kanayannur were separate Taluks, but in that year they were amalgamated and constituted into one Taluk. It is divided into 37 villages for administrative purposes. The names and situation of the *nads* into which this tract was divided in the ancient days are not known with definiteness. The eastern villages beyond Tripunittura appear to have been part of Kurunad, which was once ruled over by a branch of the Cochin royal family, but most of which was annexed by Travancore about 1755. Ernakulam and the surrounding country towards the north and the east formed the territory of Anchikaimal, which was so called because it was parcelled out among and ruled over by five Kaimals or chiefs, of whom the Cheranellur Karta was the most powerful. Chennamangalam and the southern half of the Vaipin island were under the immediate rule of the Paliyat Acchan, while Mulavukad and other islands appear to have been under the Naikarvittil Acchan. Karappuram, the sea-board tract to the south of Mattancheri, including the Travancore Taluk of Chertala, was parcelled out among seventy-two Madampi chiefs, of whom one was a Christian and the rest Hindus. Most of the other parts of the Taluk appear to have been under the direct rule of the Raja.

Andikadavu : eight miles to the south of Mattancheri. This village and Chellanam, the village to the south of it, formed part of Karappuram, but they were excluded from it when it was ceded to Travancore in 1762. The great majority of the inhabitants of both these villages are Christians. Andikadavu has a police station and a dispensary. There was considerable erosion of the coast at Andikadavu in 1907.

Chellanam : the southernmost village of the Taluk. It is separated from Travancore territory by a small opening into the sea called Andhakarazhi. Population, 2,953, mostly Christians (see also *Andikadavu*).

Chennamangalam : situated on the Alway river about six miles from its mouth. It is the chief seat of the Paliyat Acchan, who now owns the whole village in *janmam*. Population, 843. The western portion of the island is sandy, while the

eastern end is laterite, terminating in a hill, at the foot of which is a small but old Jewish colony. In the vicinity of this colony was the once famous Vaipikotta Seminary which was built in the sixteenth century by Jesuit fathers for the instruction of Syrian youths in the Syriac tongue, the remains of which are still visible. It was in this Seminary that Archbishop Menezes prepared the acts and decrees of the Synod of Diamper. In 1757 Chennamangalam was taken by the Zamorin, and in 1790 it was overrun by Tipu, who destroyed all the houses and temples on the island.

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COCHIN-KA-
NAYANNUR.

Cheranellur : five miles to the north of Ernakulam. Population, 3,062. It is the seat of one of the five Kaimals who once ruled over this portion of the Taluk. The place contains a police out-post, and a mile to the south of it is the village of Chittur, in which there is a well known temple dedicated to Krishna. The temple is under the management of the Cheranellur Karta, and attracts worshippers from different parts of the State.

Chovara : situated on the northern bank of the Alway river. Population, 1,984. It is the summer resort of the members of His Highness the Raja's family and others from Ernakulam, Tripunittura and Mattancheri. There are several palaces and bungalows picturesquely situated on the river side. The railway station is a mile to the west of these buildings.

Elankunnappuzha : a village between Narakal and Malipuram. Population, 2,844, more than half of whom are Christians and the rest Hindus. It has a well known temple dedicated to Subrahmanya, which is now under Sirkar management. Formerly, the Raja of Parur had supervision over this temple and its properties, which are scattered over the six neighbouring *desams*, which formed the *Sanketam* or *desmesne* of the temple. Parur having been ceded to Travancore in 1762, the latter State claimed and for some years exercised sovereignty over the temple and the six *desams*. This formed a subject of dispute between Travancore and Cochin for many years, which was finally settled only in 1882, when the arbitrator appointed by the Madras Government decided the question of sovereignty in favour of Cochin and that of the right of managing the affairs of the temple in favour of Travancore. In 1902, however, Travancore restored the management to the *Uralars*, who, finding themselves unable to manage it properly, surrendered it to the Cochin Sirkar in 1905.

Ernakulam : the capital of the State, situated on the back-water, two miles east of and opposite to British Cochin and

CHAP. XV. the bar. Latitude 9° 58' 55" N. and longitude 76° 19' 21" E.
COCHIN-KA- Population, 21,901 (12,205 males and 9,696 females). Ernaku-
NAYANNUR.

Hindus	...	...	11,197
Christians	...	...	9,357
Mussalmans	...	...	935
Jews	...	...	412

lam is the terminus of Cochin State Railway, and is rapidly growing in population and importance. It was constituted a municipality about the middle of 1910. It is a

picturesque town in a beautiful setting, especially when viewed from the west. The broad expanse of glittering back-waters stretching away towards north and south as far as the eye can see in long lines between rows of palm-clad islands; fleets of pattamars riding at anchor, steam launches plying constantly from shore to shore and country boats moving slowly in every direction; glimpses, through the narrow mouth of the Cochin river, of the open sea and the steamers in the offing; stately buildings fronting the back-waters with groves of feathery palms for their back-ground; all these make for the picturesqueness of the scene. The chief public buildings and institutions of the place are the Darbar Hall where the British Resident pays his State visits to the Raja, the palaces, the office of the Diwan, the Chief Court and the District Court, the Raja's College, with its annexe the students' hostel, the General Hospital, the Guest House, the Central Jail, the Railway Station, the St. Albert's high school, managed by the Verapoly Mission, the St. Teresa's convent with an orphanage and girls' school attached to it, the Carmelite monastery and the palaces of the Archbishop of Verapoly and the Romo-Syrian Bishop of Ernakulam. Besides these, the town has a police station, post and telegraph offices, a travellers' bungalow and an *Uttupura* (feeding house for Brahmans). There are also several Hindu temples, of which the most important is the Sirkar temple facing the back-water, four Catholic churches, a Protestant church and a Jewish synagogue. The annual *Utsavam* festival in the chief temple falls in Makaram (January-February), and lasts for eight days. The last day's night procession attracts a large number of spectators. The trade of the town, which is not very considerable, is chiefly in the hands of Konkani Brahmans and Jews. A market is held every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, where large quantities of vegetables and groceries are brought from different parts and readily disposed of. There are in the town two power mills for the extraction of cocoanut oil, and the Burmah Oil Company and the Asiatic Petroleum Company have large petroleum installations near the railway

station. The Residency is picturesquely situated on an island (Bolghatty) close to Ernakulam.

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With a view to extend and improve the town, extensive reclamations were made from the back-water at great cost during Diwan Govinda Menon's administration, but they were subsequently allowed to be built over, with the result that the foreshore became dotted with squalid huts to the detriment of the sanitation and appearance of the town. During Mr. Rajagopalachari's administration several of these were removed, and the foreshore in front of the public offices was considerably improved. A much more ambitious scheme for improving the town in point of sanitation, appearance and commercial usefulness has recently been matured, and is now being given effect to. The drinking water of the place is unwholesome, especially during the hot season : a project for supplying the town with good water is now under investigation by an expert.

Kumbalam : a village six miles to the south of Ernakulam. Population, 2,890, mostly Hindus. It was once an important seat of learning, containing as it did the once famous educational institution known as the *Udayatungesvarat Pandita Sabha*. It was a well endowed institution managed by a Namburi functionary designated *Pattamandu Kovil*, elected for a period of five years by certain families of Namburis. The *Pattamandu Kovil* was also the *Desavazhi* of the village. The Sabha has however long ceased to fulfil the object for which it was founded, and the major portion of the endowment has disappeared owing to mismanagement and misappropriation. In 1898 the Sirkar had to intervene and take up the management. The income from what remains of the endowment is now utilized in maintaining the temple attached to the Sabha.

Kuzhupilli : a village in the Vaipin island about sixteen miles to the south of Mattancheri. It has a Registry office and a police out-post. Population, 2,051, mostly Hindus. To the west of Kuzhupilli is a lagoon which extends towards the north up to the end of the Vaipin island. This lagoon is separated from the sea only by a narrow sand-spit. The width of this sand-spit is being narrowed by erosion, and the sea may at any time break through it and damage the bunds, especially the one at Kuzhupilli, constructed by the Sirkar at great cost to protect cultivation in this island.

Malayattur : an isolated village in Travancore territory, about ten miles to the north-east of Chovara railway station. It is only $4\frac{1}{2}$ square miles in extent, of which more than one-half

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is reserved forest. There is a Catholic church on the top of the Malayattur hill (Kurisumudi), which is looked upon as one of special sanctity by the Christians of Travancore and Cochin. It is said to have been once a Hindu temple, which was handed over to the Christians of the place because a granite cross made its appearance spontaneously by the side of the idol. The annual festival of the church in March attracts thousands of worshippers from all parts of the two States. It is not unusual even for Hindus to make offerings to this church. Population, 1,648 (782 Hindus and 866 Christians).

Malipuram : a sea-port six miles to the north of British Cochin. It has a flag-staff, from which light is exhibited from the middle of May to the end of September, when the shipping from British Cochin takes refuge in the mud bank off Narakal. The central depot for the storage of salt is at Malipuram. It has also a police out-post. Population, 884.

Mattancheri : the commercial capital of Cochin, situated on the back-water opposite to Ernakulam and contiguous to British Cochin. In fact, Mattancheri and British Cochin form one town geographically. Latitude 7° 58' 7" N. and longitude 76° 17' E. It is the most crowded and the most urban in appearance of all the towns in the State. It is also a very cosmopolitan town, as many as fourteen languages having been returned by its inhabitants as mother tongue.

Hindus	...	...	9,486
Christians	...	...	5,607
Mussalmans	...	...	4,489
Jews	...	...	474

It was constituted a municipality about the middle of 1910. It is a centre of considerable export and import trade, which is almost entirely in the hands of Banyas and Kacchi Memons from the Bombay Presidency. The retail trade is mostly in the hands of Konkani Brahmans and Vaisyas (Vaniyans). Mattancheri is said to have been once the capital of the State, and contains a spacious old palace of quaint design, which was built and presented to the Raja by the Portuguese about the year 1555. It is in this palace that the Rajas of Cochin are installed on the musnad even now. The most interesting part of the town in some respects is what is known as the Jews' Town, which is contiguous to the palace and is exclusively inhabited by white and black Jews. They settled here after their expulsion from Cranganur by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century and formed a prosperous colony, especially during the period of Dutch supremacy, but of late years they have been declining both in numbers and in affluence. They have

three old synagogues in the town, which are of great interest to European visitors. Among more modern institutions of interest are the large and richly endowed Konkani temple of *Tirumala Devasvam* and the Women and Children's Hospital, which contains accommodation for twenty-four in-patients. The town contains also a District Munsiff's court, a Sub-Magistrate's court, a police station, a District Registrar's office, a male dispensary and a high school maintained out of the funds of the Tirumala Devasvam.

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Mulanturutti: fourteen miles to the south-east of Ernakulam. Population, 1,815 of whom 1,059 are Christians. It is one of the chief centres of Jacobite Syrians, and contains one of their oldest churches. It was here that the Patriarch of Antioch held a synod in 1874 to settle the differences between the Jacobite and St. Thomas Syrians, but it ended in the breach being made permanent. Weaving is carried on to some extent in the place by Chaliyans and native Christians.

Mulavukad: an island to the north-west of Ernakulam, at the southern extremity of which stands the Residency surrounded by back-water on three sides. It is a fine, Dutch building, erected in 1744, but several additions and improvements were made to it in recent years. In front of the Residency is a lofty flag-staff, from which the Union Jack may be seen floating lazily when the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin is in residence at Bolghatty.

Narakal: a Christian village on the sea-shore, eight miles to the north of Mattancheri. Population, 5,720, of whom 3,039 are Christians. The smooth water anchorage known as mud bank or mud bay, where the shipping from Cochin takes refuge during the monsoon months, is in front of this village. The Narakal church is one of the oldest in the State. The village contains a police out-post and a dispensary. Near it is the temple called Veliyattaparambil under the management of the Paliyat Acchan, where trial by red-hot iron or molten lead ordeal used to be held till about the end of the eighteenth century.

Pallipuram: the northernmost village in the Cochin portion of the Vaipin island. Trials by crocodile ordeal used to be held here. It has a police out-post, and the British leper asylum is close to it.

Pallurutti: two miles to the south of Mattancheri. Population, 10,576. It is the most important manufacturing centre in Cochin. There are in it six cocoanut oil mills, two iron

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foundries, a saw mill and a rice mill. They are owned mostly by the Mattancheri merchants, and are established there for want of room in Mattancheri. There is telephonic communication from all these mills to the warehouses of the proprietors at Mattancheri.

Tripunittura : a small town, five miles south-east of Ernakulam and eight from British Cochin. Population, 6,042, the great majority of whom are Hindus. Its importance consists mainly in its being the seat of the members of the ruling family, for whom the State has built several palaces there. In the centre of the town is a well endowed Vishnu temple, which is now under the management of the Sirkar. To the east of the temple is a bazaar of Tamil and Konkani Brahmans, and one of Christians to the further east. The town contains a high school, a hospital, a police station and the largest *Uttupura* in the State. His Highness the present Raja usually resides in a handsome palace picturesquely situated on a hill about a mile and a half to the east of Tripunittura.

There are three *Utsavams* every year in the Tripunittura temple, each lasting ten days. The most important of these is the one falling in Vrischikam (November-December), which attracts a large number of spectators. On the Utsavam days the idol is taken out in procession on a row of beautifully ornamented elephants to the accompaniment of music and tom-tom. But the most interesting annual function of the place is the *Attachanayam* in August, which is believed to be the commemoration of a victory gained by Cochin. On the morning of the day His Highness the Raja goes in procession round the town in a palanquin, accompanied by all the State officers and the representatives of the old chiefs, and with all paraphernalia of oriental pageantry. When the procession is over, His Highness holds a levee at the *Kalikotta* palace, when all the officers and chiefs pay their respect to him one by one, and receive from him small money presents according to a graduated scale.

Vadavukod : an isolated village within Travancore limits, situated about ten miles to the north-east of Tripunittura. Population, 662. Towards the end of the last century Travancore claimed the village as its own, and attempted to exercise sovereign jurisdiction over it. The matter was thereupon referred, at the instance of Cochin, for decision to the Madras Government, who held the claim of Travancore to be invalid. There is a police out-post in the village. The area of the village is only 960 acres.

Vaipin Island: (vernacular, *vaippu*, a deposit). This island lies between the back-water on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west and the Cranganur and the Cochin bars on the north and the south. Latitude $9^{\circ} 58' 30''$ N. and longitude $76^{\circ} 18' 20''$ E. It is $14\frac{3}{4}$ miles long with a mean breadth of $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles. Its southern extremity, $23\frac{1}{4}$ acres in extent, belongs to the British, and its northern extremity, $1\frac{3}{4}$ square miles in area, belongs to Travancore. The total area of the island including these bits is a little over $23\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, of which about 7 is under wet cultivation and 11 under cocoanut plantation. The

Hindus	...	25,252	population of the Cochin portion
Christians	...	13,554	of the island is 40,365 (20,487
Mussalmans	...	1,526	males and 19,878 females.)

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The island has been formed by the deposit of silt brought down by the rivers discharging into the back-water and the sea. The date of its appearance or, more probably, of the peopling of the place is preserved in old Cochin deeds, which are often dated in the *Puduvaippu* (literally, new deposit) era, commencing A. D. 1341. As the soil is richly overlaid with alluvium, the cocoanut palm grows most luxuriantly on the island, and during the years in which monsoon inundations are normal, the wet lands yield a rich harvest. The extent of the island is subject to constant fluctuation, as accretions and erosions are of almost daily occurrence. The Cruz Milagre gap, through which the sea broke into the back-water in 1875, is in this island about three miles to the north of British Cochin. The gap was filled up with much difficulty and at great cost, and protective works are still maintained to prevent the recurrence of the danger.

The island was the scene of many historical events. Many a battle was fought here between the forces of the Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin early in the sixteenth century. During the Dutch period several parts of the island were practically in their hands for many years, and throughout the Travancore wars with Mysore it was a disputed point. In the Travancore portion of the island the walls of the Portuguese and afterwards the Dutch out-post of Azhikotta (Ayacotta), the oldest existing European structure in India, still remains in a fairly good state of preservation. There are several temples on the island, of which the one at Elankunnappuzha, which is now under the management of the Sirkar, and the Konkani temple at Cherayi are the most important and best endowed. There are also several churches built in the times of the

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Portuguese and the Dutch, while the Syrian church at Narakal is said to have been built long before that period. In Pallipuram, a village in the island, is a lazaretto managed by the Collector of Malabar. The place was a Jesuit college during the Portuguese period. The Dutch turned it into a Lazarethaus, and under one of the articles of the surrender of Cochin the Madras Government is bound to maintain it.

Vellarapilli: situated to the east of Chovara. With the latter and other villages, it forms an isolated tract of Cochin territory within Travancore limits. It contains an old palace, a temple of some importance and a police station. The place is said to have been a favourite resort of the female members of the ruling family in the old troublous times. One of the oldest Christian churches, the Kanjur church, is in this village.

Vendurutti: an island in the back-water midway between Ernakulam and Mattancheri. Area, about two square miles, and population, 1,942, mostly Christians. During the Portuguese period the island formed a portion of the endowment of the Cathedral of Santa Cruz, situated in the town of Cochin. It passed into the hands of the Dutch when they ousted the Portuguese from Cochin, and in 1758 they sold it to the Raja of Cochin. In 1908 an asylum for the segregation and treatment of lepers was opened by the Darbar at the northern end of the island.

CRANGANUR TALUK.

CRANGANUR, (vernacular, Kodungallur), the Mouziris of the Romans and the Muchiri of ancient Tamil literature, lies between 10° 10' and 10° 15' N. latitude and 76° 12' and 76° 17' E. longitude. It has an area of 17½ square miles and a population numbering 29,140 (14,710 males and 14,430 females). It is thus a very densely peopled tract, the average density being 1,665 per square mile. Cranganur has a larger proportion of Muhammadans and a smaller proportion of Christians than the rest of the State. The soil of the mainland is sandy

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Hindus	20,418
Christians	1,522
Muhammadans	7,200

and is very favourable for the growth of the cocoanut palm, while in the island of Pullut which forms part of the Taluk, the soil is red ferruginous. The chief occupation of the people is cocoanut cultivation, the manufacture of coir and copra, and fishing. There are several families of Chaliyans who manufacture coarse cotton cloths. A bi-weekly market is held at Kottapuram, which is one of the most largely attended markets in the State. Cranganur is divided into five villages, of which the more important ones are Mettala, in which all the public offices and the Bhagavati temple are located, Lokamalesvaram where the Chief and the members of his family reside, and Azhikod, which is inhabited mostly by Muhammadans (Mappilas), among whom are several well-to-do men.

Cranganur is in fact a principality subordinate to Cochin, and not one of its Taluks. It is financially autonomous, but in all other respects it is administered as an integral part of the State. It pays a tribute of Rs. 6,900 to Cochin. Cranganur has its own Chief, who is a Kshatriya by caste and who gets a fixed allowance from the Cranganur treasury for his own maintenance and that of the members of his family. The origin of this family is lost in the mist of antiquity. Its dynastic name is *Padinjaredat Svarupam*. The members of this family perform the *tali* marriage and act the part of the father in the Zamorin's family. The Chief appears to have been feudatory sometimes to Cochin and at other times to the Zamorin. At the time the Portuguese arrived in Cochin Cranganur was under the Zamorin; but before the advent of the Dutch it appears to have passed over to Cochin. During the greater part of the Dutch period it was under the protection of the Netherlands East India Company. Haidar treated it as a

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feudatory of Cochin, and levied tribute from it through the latter; consequently the Malabar Joint Commissioners adjudged it to be feudatory to Cochin in 1792, and it has remained so ever since.

Cranganur contains the offices of the Tahsildar (Revenue Officer) and the District Registrar, a Sub-Magistrate's court, a police station, a dispensary and a high school, but the most important institution of the place is the well known Bhagavati temple. Its annual *Bharani* festival (cock feast) in Minam (March-April) attracts thousands of worshippers, chiefly low caste Hindus, from all parts of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. On the occasion of this festival the polluting castes have the privilege of entering the outer precincts of the temple and touching it. They march up to it, crying "*nada, nada*" (march, march), and singing obscene songs, and on their arrival at the shrine they throw stones at it and level volleys of abuse at the goddess. Kulimuttat Arayan, the chief of the Mukkuva caste, has the privilege of beginning the work of polluting the temple. The worshippers make offerings in the shape of a few pies and a few grains of pepper and sesamum, and receive in return consecrated turmeric powder with which they smear their forehead and breast. Their number is so large that the aggregate value of these offerings comes to six or seven thousand rupees, and even more in the years in which there is a widespread epidemic of small-pox or cholera. The principal ceremony is the sacrifice of cocks which every pilgrim brings with him. The festival lasts for seven days, during which the worshippers freely indulge in drinking toddy and arrack, and when it is concluded, the temple is cleaned and purified. A pilgrimage to this temple is believed to be a safeguard against cholera and small-pox.

Cranganur is a place of great and varied historical interest, though it is now of little importance. It had extensive trade relations with west even before the Christian era. The Jews, the Phoenicians, the Romans and the Arabs came successively with their merchant fleets to the port of Cranganur to exchange the produce of Europe for those of Malabar. It became such an important centre of trade in those early times that in the first century of the Christian era Pliny described it as "the first emporium in India". During this period and for some centuries afterwards it was the seat of the Perumals, or the early kings of Kerala before its dismemberment. The Jews and the Christians got their first footing here, and founded towns long before

the Portuguese discovered a direct route to India. Here the Portuguese built a fort in 1523, and their cruelty drove most of the Jews to Cochin. The fort was renovated by the Dutch when the Portuguese power fell to their prowess. The Dutch in their turn were pressed hard here by Haidar, and the sale of the fort to Travancore by the Dutch involved the English East India Company in a bloody war with Tipu. But "now the fort is a ruin mouldering in the dust, with but one solitary tower overhanging the broad expanse of the river which rolls on slowly but deeply beneath. Its old moat is the resort of the crocodile and paddy bird, and its once well used streets resound no more to human tread. The solitary stranger, perhaps, disturbs a snake in his path, or an owl in the dense overhanging trees, but rarely a mortal will meet his eye".*

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* Day's *Land of the Perumals*, p. 10.

MUKUNDAPURAM TALUK.

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MUKUNDAPURAM is bounded on the north by the Trichur Taluk, on the east by the Coimbatore District and Travancore, on the south by Travancore, Cochin-Kanayannur and Cranganur and on the west by the Ponnani Taluk of Malabar. It lies between $10^{\circ} 9'$ and $10^{\circ} 27'$ N. latitude and $76^{\circ} 12'$ and $76^{\circ} 57'$ E. longitude. It is the largest Taluk in the State, and has an area of 418 square miles. It is divided into sixty villages for administrative purposes. Nearly half of the area is covered with forests, rising terrace by terrace towards the east to an elevation for over 3,500 feet above the sea. Some of the valuable forests of the State, Palapilli, Kodasseri and Adirapilli, are within the limits of this Taluk. The plains, intersected by rivers and streams, slope towards the west in a succession of gentle undulations. The chief river is the Chalakudi, which flows for the most part through this Taluk, while in some places it forms the boundary between it and Travancore. The Sholayar, the Kuriyarkutti and the Karapara, which drain Adirapilli, Parambikolam and the southern reaches of the Nelliampatis respectively, are tributaries of the Chalakudi. The Kurumali is the next important river which, after its junction with the Manali, forms the boundary between the Mukundapuram and Trichur Taluks. The Chemmoni and the Muppilli, which rise respectively from the Palapilli and Kodasseri hills, flow into the Kurumali. There are several fresh water lakes, Muriyad being the largest, which are artificially drained every year for the cultivation of their beds. The railway runs right across the Taluk, with four stations in it, Pudukad, Irinjalakuda, Chalakudi and Adur. The forest tramway, which starts from Chalakudi, runs for about thirty-three miles through Mukundapuram. Except in the sandy village of Edavilanga, which is contiguous to Cranganur, the soils of the Taluk are of the red ferruginous variety. The soil is fairly rich on the eastern side of the railway line, and comparatively poor on the western side.

The population numbers 1,61,833 (males 80,335 and females 81,498). There are proportion-

Hindus	...	107,616
Mussalmans	..	7,920
Christians	...	45,353
Others	...	944

ately more Christians and fewer Hindus in this Taluk than in any other except Cochin-Kanayannur. The chief occupation of the people is agriculture.

In garden cultivation, including the growth of cocoanut and

arecanut palms, the Taluk is second to none in the State. Rubber planting has made considerable progress in recent years, the major portion of the area planted with rubber being in this Taluk. Coarse weaving is carried on by Chaliyans at Irinjalkuda, Pumangalam and other villages, but the chief industry of the Taluk is the manufacture of bricks and tiles, for which there are six factories, all on or near the banks of the Manali river. The tramway workshop at Chalakudi is fitted with up-to-date plants and appliances.

Excluding its south-western portion, the Taluk comprised the six ancient *nads* ruled over respectively by the Nambiyars of Muriyanad and Velosnad and the Kaimals or Kartas of Kodasseri, Changarankota, Changarankanda and Kunnatteri. These chiefs are known by the name of *Arunattil Prabhukkanmar*, or lords of Arunad (aggregate of six *nads*). The south-western portion comprised the chieftdoms of Koratti Kaimal, Ayyanezhi Padanayar (Adur gramam) and Kattur Padanayar (Kuzhur gramam). These nine chiefs were among the most fickle in their allegiance to the Raja of Cochin, and extended a cordial welcome to the Zamorin more than once. The Travancore lines run for the most part through this Taluk, which consequently suffered heavily when Tipu laid siege to the lines. It is said that all the Hindu temples and Christian churches within five or six miles of the lines were plundered and razed to the ground by Tipu's troops. When the chiefs were divested of their power, this area was constituted into two *Kovilakattumvatukkals* or Taluks, Mukundapuram and Kodasseri, but on the reorganisation of the Taluks in 1860 they were amalgamated.

Adur : situated on the Chalakudi river, three miles to the north-west of the railway station of that name and seven miles to the west of Chaladudi. Adur owes its importance to the Annamanada temple which is situated in it. Adur *gramam*, which consists of ten villages surrounding the temple, is its *Sanketam* or desmesne, of which the Ayyanezhi Padanayar, and afterwards, the Koratti Kaimal and other chiefs were the overlords. They made over the overlordship to the Zamorin when he invaded Cochin about the year 1755. Sometime after the expulsion of the Zamorin, Travancore claimed sovereignty over the *Sanketam* by right of conquest, and exercised it for several years, though under protest by Cochin. The disputes between the two States regarding this right was finally settled only in 1882, when the arbitrator appointed by the Madras Government decided the question of sovereignty in favour of

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Cochin and that of the right of managing the temple affairs in favour of Travancore. Travancore however gave up the management in 1902, and the temple is now under the management of the Cochin Sirkar. Adur contains a palace and a police out-post. It had a Sub-Magistrate's court since 1890. It was abolished in 1907.

Chalakudi : an extensive village situated on the right bank of the river, $10^{\circ} 12' N.$ latitude, and $76^{\circ} 23' E.$ longitude. It is a railway station and the head-quarters of the forest tramway, and is therefore a place of considerable traffic in timber. It has a Registrar's office, a police station, a hospital, a small palace and an *Uttupura*, besides the Tramway head office, the quarters of the Engineer in charge, the tramway workshop, etc. The bi-weekly market that is held in the place is well attended. Tipu took up his quarters at Chalakudi when his army was besieging the Travancore lines. It is one of the healthiest spots in Cochin. Population, 5,787.

Irinjalakuda : the head-quarters of the Taluk, situated four miles to the west of the railway station, in $10^{\circ} 20' N.$ latitude, $76^{\circ} 15' E.$ longitude. It has a population of 8,420 (4,193 males and 4,227 females), of whom 5,240 are Hindus, 2,656 Christians and 524 Muhammadans. The town is steadily rising in importance owing chiefly to the enterprise of its native Christian inhabitants, who form the most prosperous part of the population. It contains the Tahsildar's and District Registrar's offices, the District Munsiff's and Sub-Magistrate's courts, a high school, a hospital, a police station and two palaces. Four miles to the north of it is the Karuvannur travellers' bungalow. A fair is held in the town every Wednesday and Saturday, which is the most largely attended one of its kind in the State. A Sanitary Board appointed and financed by the Darbar looks after the sanitation of the town. The most important institution in the town however is the large and well endowed temple of *Kudalmanikkam*, presided over by a Sudra *Sanyasi*, who by consecration is elevated to the status of a Brahman. He is designated *Tachudaya Kaimal*, and is nominated by the Maharaja of Travancore. The annual *Utsavam* festival in the temple is celebrated during the month of Medam (April-May) on a grand scale, and lasts for ten days. Of late however it has lost something of its former grandeur, but it still attracts a large number of worshippers and spectators.

Kallettumkara : a village, four miles to the east of Irinjalakuda, in which the Irinjalakuda railway station is situated. It has an *Uttupura*,

Kanjirapilli : on the Chalakudi river, six miles to the east of Chalakudi. Here His Highness the Raja has an excellent summer residence, which is picturesquely situated on the left bank of the river, with lofty ranges of well wooded hills for its back-ground.

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Karupadanna : situated on the back-water, six miles to the south of Irinjalakuda. It was the usual halting place for passengers journeying to and fro by back-water before the introduction of the railway. The landing place used to be crowded with boats of all descriptions, but after the railway introduction very few passengers take that route. The population consists largely of Muhammadans, who are mostly boatmen and fishermen. The place contains a police out-post, a small palace, an *Uttupura* and a travellers' bungalow. This last is beautifully situated on a hill overlooking the back-water on three sides.

Mala : eight miles to the south-east of the Irinjalakuda railway station. Population, 1,199. There is an old colony of black Jews in the village. It is said to have been once a prosperous colony, but the Jews there now number only a hundred, and are mostly poor. It has a police out-post. Near Mala is the Ambalakad convent, one of the largest monasteries on this coast. Close to the monastery are to be seen the remains of the once famous Seminary of Chenupalur (St. Paul's *ur* or village) founded by Jesuit priests in the sixteenth century. One of the first printing presses in all India was set up in this seminary, and the first Malayalam book was printed about the year 1577.

Nellayi : eight miles to the north-west of Chalakudi. Population, 724, mostly Hindus, among whom are many Tamil Brahmans in easy circumstances. The village contains a Registrar's office and a police out-post.

Pudukad : a railway station, ten miles to the south-east of Trichur. Population, 1,753, a third of whom are Christians and the rest Hindus. The village contains a Romo-Syrian church of some importance. A market is held here every Thursday.

Tiruvanchikulam : a small village on the back-water, surrounded on three sides by Cranganur. It is famous for its temple, which is one of the oldest and most important on the west coast. It is also well endowed, having landed properties in Cochin, Malabar and Travancore. It is said to have been the temple of the Perumals, and is repeatedly mentioned in ancient Tamil literature. There are numerous shrines within

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PURAM.

the sacred enclosure, of which as many as eighteen are dedicated to Siva. The image of Cheraman Perumal is among the objects of worship in this temple. The annual *Utsavam* is celebrated on a grand scale in the month of Kumbham (February-March). There is a palace close to the temple. The palace of the Perumals is said to have been situated about a furlong to the south-west of the temple. The site of it is still pointed out, and is preserved as *poramboke*. Population, 243, mostly Hindus.

Trikkur: situated on the Puttur river, six miles to the south-east of Trichur. Population, 1,311, almost all of them being Hindus, among whom is a thriving colony of Tamil Brahmans. A rock cut temple on a granite hill is a conspicuous feature of the village. The temple and its endowment are under the management of the Paliyat Acchan, to whom and to the temple belong almost all the lands in the village in *janmam*. There is also an *Uttupura* maintained by the Acchan.

Varandarapilli: a village on the outskirts of the Palapilli forests, seven miles to the east of the Pudukad railway station. The Government teak plantation and the rubber plantations which were recently opened begin from the boundary of this village. It is now a flourishing village, and its prosperity is chiefly due to the opening up of these plantations. A dispensary was recently opened here by the Darbar.

TALAPILLI TALUK.

CHAP. XV.
TALAPILLI.

TALAPILLI, the northernmost Taluk of the State, lies between $10^{\circ} 35'$ and $10^{\circ} 48'$ N. latitude and $76^{\circ} 4'$ and $76^{\circ} 31'$ E. longitude. It is bounded on the south by the Trichur Taluk and on the three other sides by the Malabar District. The Taluk is 271 square miles in extent, and is divided into 74 villages. Over a third of the area is covered with forests—Machad and Elanad ranges—which are comparatively of low altitude, and nowhere rise beyond an elevation of 1,000 feet. These forests have long been overworked and are almost denuded of all valuable trees, but they have recently been given complete rest. The plains undulate towards the west, but their undulating character is more pronounced and the laterite hills more lofty and numerous than in the other Taluks. The chief river is the Bharatapuzha or Ponnani, which bounds the Taluk on the north and separates it from Malabar. The Chirakuzhi river, rising in the Pottundi hills, passes through the north-eastern portion of the Taluk and joins the Ponnani river near Kuttampilli, while the Vadakancheri river, which has its source in the Machad hills, flows entirely through this Taluk and joins the Enamakkal lake from the north. The railway runs right through the middle of this Taluk, which contains three stations, Cheruturutti, Mullurkara and Vadakancheri. The soils throughout are of the red ferruginous variety, and are generally richer on the eastern side of the railway line than on the west.

The population of the Taluk is 151,315 (73,886 males and 77,429 females). It has a larger proportion of Hindus and a smaller one of

Hindus	...	116,070
Mussalmans	...	14,545
Christians	...	20,379
Others	...	321

Christians than the other Taluks except Chittur. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the people. In the eastern

villages wet cultivation is very valuable, but the gardens are few and poor, while in the western villages garden cultivation, especially that of the arecanut palm, receives more careful attention than anywhere else in the State. The preparation of arecanut for export to the Tamil districts is a notable industry in the western villages from October to February. Cloths of various patterns and textures are manufactured at Kuttampilli by a colony of Chetans that settled there over a hundred years ago. Coarse cloths are made by Kaikolans at Tiruvilvamala and Pambadi, and coloured cloths by Muhammadans at Cheruturutti.

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The Taluk was formerly split up into a number of *nads*. Talapilli, the whole tract to the west of the railway line, was under the immediate rule of three chiefs, the Nambidis of Kakkad, Ayinikur and Manakulam, who were collectively known as the Talapilli Rajas, and belonged to three branches of the same family. Kakkad has become extinct, but the other two branches are still in existence. Ayirunad, the middle tract lying between Vadakancheri and Cheruturutti, was under the Manakot Nayar, and Perattuvithi, the eastern portion, was under a number of chiefs known as the Karyakars of Perattuvithi. The chief of these Karyakars was the Tottasseri Talassannor, the others being the Ayyazhi Padanayar, Vadakkum Nambidi, Tekkum Nambidi and Kinattunkara Nayar. All these families except the last two are now extinct. The tract comprising this Taluk was divided into two *Kovilakattumvattukkals* or Taluks in 1763, *viz.*, Talapilli and Chelakara, but Ayirunad still continued to be a separate chiefdom, which was joined to Talapilli only in 1809, when Paliat Acchan's estate was taken over by the Sirkar on account of the insurrection of that year. Talapilli and Chelakara were amalgamated on the re-organisation of the Taluks in 1860.

Arthat : a frontier village, two miles to the south of Kunankulam. It contains one of the oldest Jacobite Syrian churches in the State. It was for the possession of this church and its properties that there was a prolonged litigation between the Jacobite and Reformed Syrians (page 223). Population, 814.

Chelakara : five miles to the east of Mullurkara railway station. Population, 2,643, of whom 844 are Muhammadans, 154 Christians and the rest Hindus. It is a thriving village, the lands in its neighbourhood being exceedingly valuable. It contains an old palace, a spacious, old-fashioned building, a Registrar's office, and a police out-post. Chelakara was the seat of the powerful Pisharodi chief, Tottasseri Talassannor of Perattuvithi, whose family is now extinct. The large and well endowed Venganellur temple, which is now under the management of the Sirkar, is situated a mile to the north of Chelakara. The temple of Emur Bhagavati, the Talassannor's tutelary deity, is now in ruins. A market is held in Chelakara every Saturday.

Cheruturutti : situated on the left bank of the Ponnani river and the first station on the Cochin State Railway, the junction being at Shoranur on the opposite bank of the river. The river here is spanned by a fine bridge constructed over forty years ago. Cheruturutti contains a palace, a police out-post

and an *Uttupura* maintained by His Highness the Raja out of his private funds. A market is held here every Monday. Population, 1,669, of whom 655 are Muhammadans and the rest Hindus. There are several weavers among the former, who manufacture the coloured cloths that are usually worn by their community. Recently they have started the weaving of silk cloths that are worn by Mappila women on gala occasions.

Chovannur: two miles to the north-east of Kunnankulam. Population, 961, mostly Hindus. It has a *Sabha Madham*, an endowed college, where Namburi youths are given Sanskrit education free, including free board and lodging. It is said to have once been a great educational centre, but it boasts of very few students now. The managers of the Sabha have to render an account to Government of its annual receipts and expenditure.

Kadavallur: six miles to the north of Kunnankulam, situated by the side of the Kattakampal lake. Population, 2,101, mostly Hindus. It contains a well endowed temple under Sirkar management, which is well known throughout this coast as being the place where Namburis of the Trichur and Tirunavaya *Yogams* compete for superiority in vedic proficiency. The competition is held every year for several days in October and November when selected champions on either side display wonderful feats of memory by correctly reciting passages from the Vedas with *ghana* and *ratha* variations under adverse circumstances. Memory alone is tested; there is not even a pretence of testing the erudition of the competitors. There are various stages in the competition, and the winners obtain *kudos* in proportion, and nothing else.

Kunnankulam: the only town in the Taluk, situated in 10° 40' N. latitude and 76° 4' E. longitude. Population, 7,194 (3,498 males and 3,696 females), of whom 63 per cent. are Christians, chiefly Jacobite Syrians. It is in fact the chief centre of the Jacobites in the State, and there are several of their old churches in the town and its neighbourhood. Some of the oldest and wealthiest Christian families are to be found in Kunnankulam. It is also one of the centres of the work of the Church Mission Society in the State. It contains a small palace, an *Uttupura*, a high school with a hostel, a Sub-Registrar's office, a police station, a hospital and a travellers' bungalow. The streets of the town are exceedingly narrow, but as it is built on the summit and declivity of a couple of hills, the natural drainage is excellent, and keeps the town comparatively clean. The sanitation and conservancy of the town are looked

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after by a Sanitary Board appointed and financed by Government. It is a place of some trade, chiefly in arecanut and other local produce. Cheralayam and Kakkad, suburbs of Kunnankulam, are the seats of the Ayinikur Nambidi and Kakkad Karanavapad respectively. The remains of an old fort are to be found near Kunnankulam.

Kuttampilli : a hamlet on the Ponnani river, four miles to the south-west of the Lakkiti railway station. It is inhabited almost entirely by Chetans or Devanga Chettis from Mysore, who left their country on account of Tipu's persecution and settled in this out-of-the-way village about the end of the eighteenth century. Almost all of them are weavers, who manufacture most varieties of cloth that are in use on this coast. They are in a more prosperous condition than the weavers found elsewhere in the State except Chittur.

Mullurkara : a railway station midway between Shoranur and Vadakancheri. It was the seat of the Manakot Nayar when he was the chief of Ayirunad. He was dispossessed of the *nad* for having joined the Zamorin about 1740, when it came into the possession of the Paliyat Acchan. The estate was assumed by the Sirkar in 1809 for the part taken by the then Paliat Acchan in the rebellion of that year, but it was restored to his family in 1820. Traces of a fort built by the Acchan in 1740 to check the inroads of the Zamorin from the north are still visible. The place contains a handsome residence of the Paliyat Acchan, to whom the village belongs in *janmam*, and also an *Uttupura* which is maintained by him. Population, 2,319, mostly Hindus.

Nelluvaya : five miles to the west of Vadakancheri. Population, 765, of whom all but 40 are Hindus. It contains a temple dedicated to Krishna, which is of considerable local celebrity, and attracts worshippers from various parts of the Trichur and Talapilli Taluks. The Erumapatti police out-post is in its neighbourhood, where a market is held every Sunday. On the south of the village are found the ruins of an extensive fort built on a line of hills.

Pazhayannur : a populous village, eleven miles to the east of the Mullurkara railway station and five miles to the south of the Lakkiti station. Population, 6,124, almost all of them Hindus. There is a large colony of Tamil Brahmans in the place. It contains a well known and well endowed Bhagavati temple, the goddess to whom it is dedicated being the tutelary deity of the royal family of Cochin. In the

Uttupura attached to this temple both Brahman travellers and permanent residents are fed gratuitously in the morning, and travellers in the evening. The village contains a small palace, a police station and a dispensary. A well attended market is held in Pazhayannur every Tuesday.

Tiruvilvamala: on the left bank of the Ponnani river, one mile to the south of the Lakkiti railway station. The village is built on an extensive granite hill and has grown up round the temple picturesquely situated on the summit of that hill. This temple, dedicated to Rama and Lakshmana, is one of the best known and best endowed in the State. The temple and its desmesnes were in ancient times administered by a corporation of non-Vedic Namburis called Parasudayavars: the families of some of them are still in existence. About the sixteenth century they elected the Zamorin and the Raja of Palghat as the *purakoimas*, or outer lords of the temple, the Kakkad Nambidi as the *akakoima*, or inner lord, and the Raja of Cochin as the *melkoima*, or overlord. During the period of Mysorean invasion, the affairs of the temple fell into confusion, and soon after the retreat of Tipu therefore its management was taken up by the Cochin Government. The annual *Ekadesi* festival of the temple which falls in the month of Kumbham (February-March) attracts thousands of worshippers and spectators from most parts of South Malabar and North Cochin. The village contains a small palace and a police out-post. Though the place is rocky and almost devoid of vegetation, it contains a number of springs, owing to which no scarcity of water is felt.

Vadakancheri: the head-quarters of the Taluk, situated on the left bank of the river of the same name, in 10° 41' N. latitude and 76° 16' E. longitude. Population, 973, mostly Hindus. It is a place of some trade, chiefly in arecanut and other local produce. The place contains a small palace, the offices of the Tahsildar, Sub-Magistrate, District Munsiff and Registrar, a dispensary, a police station, a travellers' bungalow and an *Uttupura*. A market is held every Wednesday at Ottupara.

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TRICHUR TALUK.

CHAP. XV.
TRICHUR.

TRICHUR (*Trissivaperur*, or town of the name of sacred Siva) lies between 10° 22' and 10° 38' N. latitude and 76° 7' and 76° 31' E. longitude, and is bounded on the north by the Talapilli Taluk, on the east by the Palghat Taluk of Malabar, on the south by Mukundapuram, and on the west by the Ponnani Taluk. The Taluk has an area of 225 square miles, and is divided into 72 villages. Like Mukundapuram and Talapilli, Trichur has its eastern portion covered with forests comprising the Paravattani range. Vellani, a detached hill in this range, has the highest elevation, being 1,500 feet above the sea-level. These forests were once very valuable, but during the closing decades of the last century they were denuded of almost all the exploitable trees. They have therefore been given complete rest recently. The Puttur or Manali is the chief river in the Taluk, the Karuvannur into which it flows being the boundary between Trichur and Mukundapuram. The Viyyur is a small stream rising in the Machad hills and joining the Ennamakkal lake four miles to the west of the Trichur town. The Ennamakkal lake is the most conspicuous feature of the Taluk. It has an extent of 25 square miles, of which all but 2½ square miles lie within the State. The mode of draining the lake and cultivating its bed during the hot weather is described elsewhere (page 246). The narrow strip of land to the west of the lake and to the east of the back-water is sandy, while the soil of the rest of the Taluk is red ferruginous. The railway runs through the centre of the Taluk, with three stations in it, Mulakunnattukavu, Trichur and Ollur.

The population of the Taluk numbers 145,104 (71,647 males and 73,457 females). It contains a smaller proportion of Muhammadans than the other Taluks. The wet cultivation of the eastern half of the Taluk is valuable, while gardens abound in all parts of it.

Hindus	103,262
Christians	36,469
Muhammadans	4,925
Others	448

In the sandy tract between the lake and the back-water, about 30 square miles in extent, the cocoanut palm thrives as well as in the southern Taluks. Over 1,000 acres of land in the outskirts of the forests to the east of the Trichur town have recently been planted with rubber. The manufacture of bricks and tiles is one of the most notable industries of the Taluk: there are no fewer than eight factories at work at present. It contains also

the only weaving mill and the only saw mill in the State worked by steam power. CHAP. XV.
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Before the reorganisation of the Taluks in 1860, Trichur was divided into two *Kovilakattumvatukkals* or Taluks, Ennamakkal and Trichur. It is not clear into how many *nads* it was divided in former days. Ennamakkal, the sandy tract between the lake and the back-water, used to be known as Chattamvazhinad, and was ruled over by Karattu Karta. The tract to the south of the Trichur town was Panamukkatnad, the chiefdom of Panamukkattu Kaimal *alias* Maliyakkal Karta, and that to the north and north-east appears to have been under the direct rule of the Nambidis of Nellikad and Mannukad. The north-western portion (Chittilapilli) formed part of the domain of the Nambidi of Manakolam, one of the Talapilli Rajas. Most of the rest of the Taluk appears to have been under the jurisdiction of the *Yogatiripads* or ecclesiastical heads of the Vadakkumnathan and Perumanam Devasvams.

Antikad : the chief village in the sandy tract, situated by the side of Ennamakkal lake and twelve miles to the south-west of Trichur. Population, 1,537, mostly Hindus. It was the head-quarters of Ennamakkal when it was a separate Taluk. It now contains a small palace, a Sub-Registrar's office and a police out-post. A well attended market is held every Monday at Puttampidika and every Tuesday at Kandachankadavu, both in the vicinity of Antikad.

Aranattukara : a large village, two miles to the west of Trichur. Population, 2,343, of whom 75 per cent. are Christians. It was at the head of the back-water communication with Ernakulam and Cochin before a canal was constructed from it to Trichur in Diwan Sankara Variyar's time. The Christian community of the place was a thriving one for a long period, but of late its prosperity has been on the decline. Close to the village is the Elturutti Convent, a handsome and spacious building picturesquely situated on the western shore of the Manakodi lake. It is one of the largest and richest monasteries on the west coast, and maintains a lower secondary school and a small industrial school.

Arattupuzha : nine miles to the south of Trichur. The village is widely known on account of the annual *Puram* festival that is celebrated in it, but is otherwise quite insignificant. This *Puram* is the grandest one of its kind on this coast. Idols from a number of Sirkar and private temples situated at a greater or less distance from the village are brought at night in procession.

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to the extensive paddy flat in front of the village, on rows of gaily caparisoned elephants to the accompaniment of music and tom-tom, illumination and fire-works. When the processions meet there an hour or two before day-break, the number of elephants assembled is as many as fifty or sixty. The festival attracts more spectators of the better class than any other of its kind in Cochin. Their number amounts generally to fifteen to twenty thousand.

Killannur : six miles to the north of Trichur. Population 1,489, mostly Hindus. The village is popularly known as Mulakunnattukavu, after the temple of the same name to which the village owes its importance. It is a well endowed temple, dedicated to Ayyappan, and is now under Sirkar management. It is said that the Vedic competition now held in Kadavallur every year used to be held in this temple in the old days. The Mulakunnattukavu railway station is in this village.

Manalur : three miles to the north of Antikañ and the northernmost village in the sandy tract. Population, 3,039, two-thirds of whom are Hindus and the rest Christians. It is situated opposite the Chetva bar, and was therefore much exposed to attack from the Zamorin and other foes of Cochin. A small but strong fort with mud and masonry walls was constructed in the seventeenth century at the point where the lake meets the back-water. It was dismantled soon after the insurrection of 1809 under one of the provisions of the treaty of that year. The Enamakkal bund which protects the *kole* cultivation is in this village. This bund was originally built by Cochin in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1802 an Assistant Collector of Malabar, Mr. Drummond, under an erroneous expectation of benefiting the neighbouring lands, caused the dam to be partially destroyed, with the result that a large area of land fell out of cultivation owing to the inrush of salt water. In response to repeated representations from Cochin the British Government made several attempts, especially in 1823 and 1842, to reconstruct the dam on the original plan, but not with complete success. The dam thus reconstructed has never proved sufficiently impervious to prevent the percolation of salt water ; it is therefore annually patched up and temporary additional earthen bunds put up at the joint cost of the British and Cochin Governments to protect the cultivation of *kole* lands. The question of improving or reconstructing the dam is now under consideration.

Mundur : a small but rising village, six miles to the north-west of Trichur. It has a Registrar's office and a police out-post. Being on the old highway from the Zamorin's territory to Cochin, Mundur was protected by a mud fort, which was dismantled in 1818 under one of the provisions of the treaty of 1809.

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Ollur : a thriving and well built Christian village, three miles to the south of Trichur. Population, 1,975, over 80 per cent. of whom are Christians, mostly Romo-Syrians. The Ollur church, which is situated in the centre of the village, is one of the largest and richest in the State, though the building itself has no pretensions to architectural beauty. Its belfry, which is over a hundred feet in height, is the loftiest in Cochin. Ollur is a railway station.

Pattikad : nine miles to the south of Trichur. Being the chief village on the highway to Nemmara and Chittur, it has an *Uttupura*, a travellers' bungalow and a police out-post. The wet lands in and about the village are among the most valuable in the State, situated as they are in a valley formed by three ridges of the Paravattani range. The newly opened rubber plantations are midway between Pattikad and Trichur. It used till recently to be a favourite shooting camp, as game was plentiful in the neighbourhood. But the extension of cultivation, the denudation of forests and the enterprise of *shikaris* have made it very scarce in these days.

Perumanam : six miles to the south of Trichur. The village is famous for its temple, one of the largest and best endowed in the State. It was formerly under the management of a Brahman functionary, designated *Yogatiripad*, elected and consecrated by the Namburi *Yogam* of Perumanam. On the death of the last *Yogatiripad* in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the election was discontinued, and the temple and its properties were surrendered by the *Yogam* to the Raja of Cochin. The landed properties in the neighbouring villages of Pallipuram, Porattur and Perincheri, which formed the endowment for the midday service in the temple, had for a long time been under the management of the Raja of Parur. On the cession of Parur to Travancore in 1762, the latter claimed this right of management and also sovereignty over the three villages, and actually exercised it for several years, though under protest by Cochin. This dispute between the two States was finally settled only in 1882, when the arbitrator appointed by the Madras Government decided the question of sovereignty in favour of Cochin and

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that of management of the midday service endowment in favour of Travancore. Travancore had a palace in Pallipuram when the village was in its possession.

Trichur: the head-quarters of the Taluk, situated in 10° 32' N. latitude and 76° 15' E. longitude.

Hindus	8,017	It has a population of 15,585 (7,932 males and 7,653 females). The town is built on a rising ground, on the apex
Christians	6,663	
Muhammadans	905	

of which is the *Vadakunnathan* temple, which contains several sacred shrines, enclosed within thick and lofty masonry walls with four massive *gopurams* or turrets, which give entrance to the temple. Outside the walls there is an open ground on all sides about 65 acres in extent. Beyond this are the dwelling houses, business places and public institutions of the town. Roughly speaking, the western half of the town forms the fashionable Brahman and Nayar quarters. The southern part of the eastern half is inhabited by Christians, and the northern half contains the public institutions of the town. Trichur was constituted a municipality towards the middle of 1910. The natural drainage of the town being excellent, its sanitation is generally satisfactory.

The chief public institutions and buildings of the place are the palace, the Residency, the offices and quarters of the Chief Engineer, the Conservator of Forests and the Special Educational Officer, the offices of the Comptroller of Accounts, the Superintendents of Police, Devasvams and Land Records, and of the Tahsildar and District Registrar, the courts of the District Judge, District Munsiff, District Magistrate, and Sub-Magistrate, the Civil Hospital, three high schools for boys and one for girls, the Government Industrial and Technical school and the Havelock Market. This market is the largest building of its kind in Cochin. It has also a travellers' bungalow, an *Uttupura*, a Satram, a club, a police station, a veterinary dispensary, a lunatic asylum and post and telegraph offices. There are four churches in the town, Romo-Syrian, Chaldean, Latin and Protestant, and it is also the chief centre of the Church Mission Society's work in the State. But the most interesting and ancient institutions of the town are the temple of *Vadakunnathan*, which is considered the oldest in Kerala, and the three Brahman *matts* or monasteries, which are said to have been founded by three of Sankaracharya's disciples. The temple is the largest and the best endowed in the State, and has extensive landed properties in Cochin, Malabar and Travancore.

Till the middle of the eighteenth century it had been under the management of a *Yogatiripad* elected and consecrated by the Namburi *Yogam* of Trichur. After the expulsion of the Zamorin in 1762 the management was assumed by Government, since which no *Yogatiripad* was consecrated. The *matts* also are well endowed, in the northern one of which all Namburis are given free board and lodging and also free instruction in the Vedas. The annual *Puram* festival in Medam (April-May), which consists of elephant processions from various neighbouring temples to the Vadakunnathan temple, attracts a large number of spectators from all parts of the State and from parts of South Malabar, and the *Sivaratri* festival in the temple attracts a large crowd of worshippers.

Situated as it is at the head of the back-water communication and possessing a railway station, Trichur is a place of considerable trade, which is chiefly in the hands of native Christians and Tinnevely Brahmans. The chief articles of trade are paddy, timber, prepared areca and cotton fabrics. The town contains one of the largest and up-to-date steam saw mills in Southern India, a steam weaving mill, a paddy husking mill, a central distillery, a small check weaving factory and three printing presses. In the vicinity of the town are half a dozen brick and tile factories owned by Christian capitalists of the town.

Trichur is considered the oldest town on the west coast, and its foundation is attributed by local tradition to Parasurama. It was the scene of many historical events, of which the more recent ones were its capture and occupation by the Zamorin for over a decade from 1750, by Haidar's army under Sirdar Khan in 1776 and by Tipu in 1789. The town and the palace were fortified in 1774 by mud walls and trenches, but these fortifications are now in ruins. A detachment of Madras Native Infantry had been quartered here since 1809, but it was withdrawn in 1900.

Urakam : a thriving village, eight miles to the south of Trichur and contiguous to Perumanam. Population, 1,787, of whom all but 139 are Hindus. It has a palace and a police station, but its most important institution is the Amma Tiruvadi temple, a well endowed shrine of considerable local celebrity. It is one of the most important of the temples that take part in the *Puram* procession at Arattupuzha. Urakam was more than once in the possession of the Zamorin, and in his war with the Dutch early in the eighteenth century, a pitched battle

CHAP. XV. appears to have been fought here, in which the Zamorin's forces
TRICHUR. were completely routed and the temple pillaged by the Balinese
soldiers serving under the Dutch. Urakam had for a long time
a colony of excellent weavers (Chetans), but they all migrated
to Chittur and Kuttampilli in recent years.

Viyyur : two miles to the north of Trichur. An experimental and demonstrative farm has recently been established here, in which the improvement of the present methods of cultivating the staple crops and the possibility of introducing new crops are receiving attention. Manurial experiments too are being tried, and it is also proposed to start cattle breeding and dairy farming operations on a small scale. The farm is under the management of the Superintendent of Agriculture. Population, 997.



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